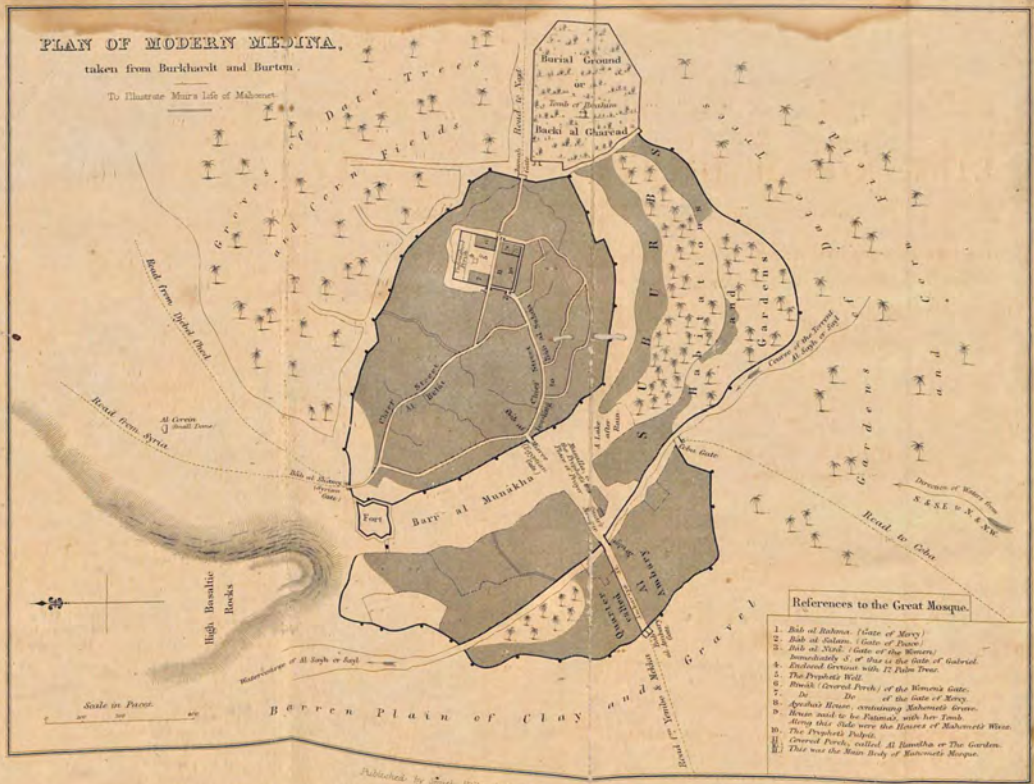
NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016

PLAN OF MODERN MEDINA,

taken from Burkhardt and Burton.

To Illustrate Muir's life of Mahomet.


Burial Ground or Backi al Gharcad
Tomb of Ibrahim
Road to Yanbo
Date Trees
Graves
and Corn Fields
Road from Dyebat Obeid
Road from Syria
Al Gharsa
Small Farms
Bâb al Rahma (Syrian Gate)
Fort
Barr al Munakha
Hugh Basaltic Rocks
Scale in Paces
Barren Plain of Clay
Road to Yambo & Mahad
Gravel
Quarter of Bilâl
Bâb al Salam
Bâb al Nisâ
Bâb al Jibrail
Bâb al Rahma
Bâb al Jannat
Bâb al Rahma
Gate of Mercy
Bâb al Salam
Gate of Peace
Bâb al Nisâ
Gate of the Women
Bâb al Jibrail
Gate of Gabriel
Bâb al Jannat
Gate of Paradise
Bâb al Rahma
Gate of Mercy
Mosque of Abu Bekr
Mosque of Omar
Mosque of Ali
Mosque of Fatima
Mosque of Abu Zarr
Mosque of Hamza
Mosque of Ali
Mosque of Fatima
Mosque of Abu Zarr
Mosque of Hamza
Mosque of Abu Bekr
Mosque of Omar

THE

LIFE OF MAHOMET.

WITH INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS ON THE ORIGINAL SOURCES FOR THE BIOGRAPHY OF MAHOMET, AND ON THE PRE-ISLAMITE HISTORY OF ARABIA.

B849

BY

WILLIAM MUIR, ESQ.,

Bengal Civil Service.

141353
ae

VOLUME III.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1861.

MDA MGU
1413 53

(*The Right of Translation is reserved.*)

CONTENTS.

VOL III.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

Arrival at Medîna.—Building of the Mosque.—From June 622 *A.D. to January* 623 *A.D.*

	Page
Flight of Mahomet and Abu Bakr to Medîna	1
They meet Talha by the way	*ib.*
Progress towards Medîna: they approach the city	2
Medîna and its environs	4
Mahomet makes for Coba	5
The people of Medîna watch for the coming of Mahomet	*ib.*
He arrives: 12th Rabi I. A.H. I. 28th June, 622 A.D.	6
Is joyfully received: lodges with Kolthûm at Coba	7
Abu Bakr lodges at Al Sunh	8
Ali joins Mahomet, who remains four days at Coba, and founds a Mosque	*ib.*
Departure for Medîna: performs public service by the way	9
Entry into the city	10
His camel halts at an open yard	11
Mahomet occupies Abu Ayûb's house, and is treated with great hospitality	*ib.*
Purchases the yard	12
Prepares to build a Mosque, and houses for his wives	13
Is joined by his family from Mecca, and by Abu Bakr's family	*ib.*
Sauda, Mahomet's wife	14
Damp and unwholesome climate of Medîna	15
The Refugees suffer from the fever of Medîna	16
Brotherhood between the Refugees and citizens of Medîna	17
Building of the Mosque, and apartments for the Prophet's wives	18
The Mosque, how used	21
Houses of Sauda and Ayesha finished	22
Marriage with Ayesha	23
Change thus wrought in Mahomet's domestic life	*ib.*
Ayesha's influence over him	*ib.*
Polygamy creates an irreconcilable divergence from Christianity	24

CHAPTER NINTH.

State of Parties at Medîna.—First two Years after Mahomet's Arrival. A.H. II. A.D. 623.

	Page
Parties at Medîna: I. *Muhâjerîn*, or "Refugees"	25
II. *Ansâr*, or Converts of Medîna	26
The enmity of the Bani Aws and Khazraj suppressed by Islam	*ib.*
Converts at Medîna numerous	27
Abu Amir and his followers go off to Mecca	*ib.*
Remaining citizens neutral	28
Mahomet allowed sovereign authority over his adherents	*ib.*
Idolatry and scepticism suppressed; ill-will cherished by the (III.) *Disaffected*	*ib.*
IV. The Jews: Mahomet desirous of a combination with them.	31
The Treaty of Medîna	*ib.*
Ill-will grows up between Mahomet and the Jews	35
They are inveighed against as blind and stiff-necked	36
The Jews a standing cause of annoyance to Mahomet.	37
Notices of them in the Coran	*ib.*
Explanation of Mahomet's secession from Jewish institutions	38

CHAPTER TENTH.

Religious Institutions and Miscellaneous Events during the First and Second Years of the Hegira. A.D. 623.

The five daily prayers	39
Lustration preliminary to prayer	40
The Moslem prayers a formal service	*ib.*
The Friday, or public and general service: the sermon	41
Motive for the selection of Friday	*ib.*
Jerusalem the first *Kibla*	42
The Kibla changed to Mecca. Rajab A.H. II. Nov. A.D. 623.	43
Circumcision	46
Mahomet at first observes the fast of the Atonement. 2nd Jumâd A.H. II. Sept. A.D. 622	47
The fast of Ramadhân substituted. Shabân A.H. II. Dec. A.D. 623	48
Its unequal pressure and rigour	49
"*Eed al Fitr*," or festival of "breaking of the fast." Shawwâl A.H. II. Feb. A.D. 624.	50
Eed al Zoha combined in the first year with the fast of the Atonement; shifted in the second year to correspond with the Meccan pilgrimage	51
The *Adzân*, or Call to Prayer	53
Call used for convening a general assembly	55

Page
The Pulpit 55
Manner of the daily service, and of the Friday service 56
The Pulpit invested with extraordinary sanctity 57
The Moaning Post 58
Death of Kolthûm, and of Asâd ibn Zorâra 59
Barrenness of the Moslem women after Mahomet's arrival 60
One of the two final Suras possibly then revealed 61
Instances of Mahomet's superstition . . . . . *ib.*

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

Hostilities between Medîna and Mecca. A.H. I. & II. A.D. 623.

Repose at Medîna for the first six months after Mahomet's arrival . . 63
Hostilities contemplated by Mahomet from the first, but deferred from motives of policy . . . . . *ib.*
Expeditions against Coreishite caravans by Hamza, Obeida ibn al Hârith (Shawwâl A.H. I. Jan. A.D. 623), and Sâd son of Abu Wackkâs . 64
A standard presented by Mahomet to each leader 66
Three expeditions conducted by Mahomet himself:—viz. *Abwâ* (June A.D. 623), *Bowât* (1 Rabi A.H. I. July, A.D. 623), and *Osheira* (2nd Jumâd (A.H. I. Oct. 623 A.D.) 67
Kurz ibn Jâbir commits a raid near Medîna 68
Mahomet concludes an alliance with two tribes 69
Mahomet gives Ali the sobriquet of Abu Torâb . . . . . *ib.*
His standard-bearers . . . . . *ib.*
Representatives left at Medîna during his absence 70
Affair of Nakhla. Rajab A.H. II. Nov. A.D. 623 . . . . . *ib.*
One of the Coreish killed, and the caravan, with two of the escort, carried off 72
Mahomet at first disclaims the responsibility of the attack: then promulgates a revelation approving it 73
Prisoners ransomed 74
Importance of this expedition 75
Growing hostility of Mahomet and his followers towards their countrymen . 76
Forbearance of the Coreish 77
Divine command to fight against the Coreish . . . . . *ib*
Fighting prescribed on religious grounds 79
The fearful reproved . . . . . *ib.*
Paradise promised to the slain . . . . . *ib.*
The cause of Islam not dependent on their efforts . . . . . *ib.*
Believers to contribute towards expenditure 80
These commands addressed to the citizens of Medîna also 81
The campaign of *Badr* the first occasion on which the citizens of Medîna joined Mahomet in large numbers . . . . . *ib.*

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

The Battle of Badr.—Ramadhân A.H. II. January 624 *A.D.*

	Page
Great detail with which the biographers relate the campaign of Badr	82
Scouts sent by Mahomet for intelligence of Abu Sofiân's approach	*ib.*
Abu Sofiân, warned regarding Mahomet's intentions, sends to Mecca for succour	83
Mahomet gives command for the campaign, and marches from Medîna	*ib.*
Spies sent forward by Mahomet to Badr	87
Abu Sofiân, discovering traces of Mahomet's scouts, hastens forward and escapes	88
Alarm at Mecca. The Coreish resolve to march to the rescue of the caravan	*ib.*
They set out and reach Johfa, where they are met by Abu Sofiân's messenger	89
They debate whether to return or go forward	91
They resolve to advance to Badr	92
Mahomet receives intelligence of the march of the Coreish army	*ib.*
In a council of war, an onward march enthusiastically determined on	93
The Moslems more implacable than the Coreish	94
Mahomet learns from the Coreish water-carriers the proximity and strength of the enemy	95
The escape of the caravan, a benefit to Mahomet	96
Mahomet takes up a position at Badr	*ib.*
He sleeps in a hut of palm branches	97
Mahomet draws up his army. Friday, 17th Ramadhân, A.H. II. 13th January, 624 A.D.	98
The Coreish after further dissensions draw up their line and move forward	*ib.*
Mahomet awaits their approach in anxiety. His earnest prayer	100
Fierce combat by the reservoir	102
Three Coreish challenge the Moslems to single combat	103
The Coreishite champions slain	104
The opposing lines close	105
Mahomet incites his followers	*ib.*
The Moslem army puts the Coreish to flight	106
Slaughter of some of Mahomet's chief opponents—*Abu Jahl*	107
Ab ul Bokhtari, to whom Mahomet had desired quarter to be given, is slain	109
Savage slaughter of some of the prisoners	*ib.*
The booty gathered together	111
Contention about its division decided by a revelation	*ib.*
The spoil divided near Safra	113
The enemy's dead cast into a pit	*ib.*
Colloquy of Mahomet with them	114
Abu Hodzeifa's grief for his father	*ib.*
Nadhr, a prisoner, put to death by Mahomet	115
Ocba, another prisoner, executed	116

Page

Traditions as to Mahomet's being reprimanded for saving any prisoners alive 117
Passage from the Coran on the subject 118
Mahomet hopes to convert the remaining prisoners 119
Tidings of the victory made known in Medîna . . . . . *ib.*
Mahomet's return. Death of his daughter Rockeya 120
The prisoners brought into Medîna: they are treated kindly, and ransomed from Mecca 121
The victory, a divine declaration in favour of Islam 123
Angelic auxiliaries 124
The Devil forced to abandon the Coreish 125
Mahomet now stands or falls by his success in the field 126
Number of chief Coreish killed at Badr . . . . . *ib.*
Consternation, and thirst for revenge, at Mecca 127
Wailing for the dead 128

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

The Year following the Battle of Badr. Ramadhân A.H. II. to Shabân A.H. III.—A.D. 624. *Ætat.* 56.

Battle of Badr followed by an early movement against the Jews . . . 130
Assassination of Asma, daughter of Marwân. Ramadhân, A.H. II. Jan. 624 *ib.*
Assassination of Abu Afak. Shawwâl, A.H. II. Feb. 624 . . . 132
Alarm of the Jews 134
The Bani Cainucâa threatened by Mahomet . . . . . *ib.*
Quarrel between the Bani Cainucâa and the men of Medîna . . . *ib.*
They are besieged. Middle of Shawwâl, A.H. II. February, 624 A.D. . 135
They surrender at discretion, and are sent into exile . . . . . *ib.*
The spoil 137
Effect of these extreme measures on the Jews and "disaffected" . . *ib.*
The affair of *Al Sawick*, a petty attack by Abu Sofiân. Dzul Hijj, A.H. II. April A.D. 624 138
Expedition to Carcarat al Cadr, against the Bani Ghatafân and Suleim. Moharram, A.H. III. May, A.D. 624 140
Second expedition against the B. Ghatafân to Dzu Amr (1st Rabi, A.H. III. June, A.D. 624), and against the B. Suleim to Bohrân (1st Jumâd, A.H. III. August, A.D. 624) 141
Zeid plunders a Coreishite caravan at Al Carada. 2nd Jumâd, A.H. III. September, A.D. 624 . . . . . *ib.*
Assassination by Mahomet's command of Kâb, the son of Ashraf. 1st Rabi, A.H. III. July, A.D. 624 143
Reflections on the narrative of Kâb's assassination 147

Page

Murder of Ibn Sanîna, a Jew, causes the conversion of the murderer's brother 148
New treaty entered into with the Jews 150
Mahomet marries Haphsa. Shâban, A.H. III. November, A.D. 624 . 151
Birth of Mahomet's grandsons, Hasan and Hosein 152

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

The Battle of Ohod.—Shawwâl A.H. III. January, A.D. 625. *Ætat.* 56.

The Coreish resolve to avenge their defeat at Badr 153
Mahomet receives intimation from his uncle Abbâs . . . . . *ib.*
The Coreish march from Mecca. Ramadhân A.H. III. Middle of Jan. 625 154
They encamp near Medîna 156
Proceedings in Medîna 157
Resolution to remain within the city, set aside by the ardour of the younger converts 158
Mahomet puts on his armour, marches a little way out of Medîna, and halts for the night of Friday 161
Mahomet advances to Ohod, and draws up his line of battle; Saturday morning, 7th (11th) Shawwâl, A.H. III. 26th January, A.D. 624 . . 163
The army of Mecca advances 166
The battle opens with single combats 167
The Coreish are pressed, and waver 168
The day changed by the charge of Khâlid ;—the army of Medîna routed . 170
Hamza killed . . . . . *ib.*
Mahomet wounded 171
Cry that he is slain 173
Mahomet takes refuge behind the rocks of Ohod 174
After a colloquy between Abu Sofiân and Omar, the Coreish retire . . 175
Number of the slain : the news reaches Medîna 177
Dressing of Mahomet's wounds 178
Safia mourns over her brother Hamza . . . . . *ib.*
Mahomet returns to Medîna 179
The Coreish, after some hesitation, take the route to Mecca 180
Night of distress and insecurity at Medîna 181
Mahomet makes a demonstration as far as Hamrâ al Asad, in pursuit of the Coreish 182
Abu Ozza made prisoner, and put to death 185
Othmân ibn Mughîra, after a truce of three days, pursued and killed . . *ib.*
Execution of Hârith ibn Suweid for the murder of Al Mujaddzir . . 186
Halo of glory cast by tradition around the martyrs of Ohod . . . 188
Mahomet's prestige affected at the time by the defeat . . . . . *ib.*
Line of argument by which Mahomet seeks to obviate its ill effect . . 189
Passages from Sura III. on the subject 190

Page
Blessedness of the martyrs 193
Description of Mahomet addressing his people in the Mosque 194
The widow of Sâd ibn Rabî entertains Mahomet at a feast 196
Origin of the law of female inheritance 197

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH.

From the Battle of Ohod to the Expulsion of the Bani Nadhîr.
A.H. IV. A.D. 625. *Ætat.* 57.

Satisfaction of the Coreish at the victory of Ohod 198
Rumours of hostile designs in other quarters . . . . . *ib.*
The Bani Asád ibn Khozeima dispersed by a force from Medina. Moharram, A.H. IV. April, A.D. 625 199
Bani Lahyân broken up by the assassination of their chief, Sofiân ibn Khâlid. Moharram, A.H. IV. May, A.D. 625 . . . . . *ib.*
Mishap at Rajî. Safar A.H. IV. May, A.D. 625 201
Martyrdom of Zeid and Khobeib 202
A party of Mahomet's followers cut to pieces at Bîr Maûna. Safar, A.H. IV. May, A.D. 625 204
Mahomet's grief, and revengeful prayer 207
Mahomet pays blood-money for two men wrongly killed as reprisals . . . 208
The Bani Nadhîr, a Jewish tribe, ordered to leave the country. 1st Rabî, A.H. IV. June, A.D. 625 . . . . . *ib.*
They refuse, and are besieged 211
Their date-trees are burned 213
They submit to the sentence of expatriation . . . . . *ib.*
Two renegades 214
The fields of the Bani Nadhîr divided among the Refugees . . . . . *ib.*
Importance of the victory over the Bani Nadhîr 215
Notices of it in the Coran. Sura LIX. . . . . *ib.*
Zeid learns Hebrew and Syriac, to qualify himself for the duties of secretary 218

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH.

The Fourth and Fifth Years of the Hegira: or from the Middle of 625 *A.D. to the End of* 626 *A.D. Ætat.* 57–58.

Badr the Second.—Mahomet marches to Badr: the Coreish remain at home 220
Mahomet gratified at the result 222
The Coreish mortified . . . . . *ib.*
Expedition to Dzât al Ricâ. Moharram A.H. V. May, A.D. 626 . . 223
The *Service of Danger* 224
The Coran, a vehicle for "general orders" . . . . . *ib.*

Page

Campaign to Dûmat al Jandal. 1st Rabî, A.H. V. July, A.D. 626 . . 225
Mahomet marries a fourth wife : *Zeinab bint Khozeima* 226
Mahomet marries a fifth wife, *Omm Salma* 227
His prayer at the death-bed of Omm Salma's previous husband . . . *ib.*
Mahomet marries *Zeinab bint Jahsh* after she had been divorced by his adopted son, Zeid; (Safar A. H. V. June, A.D. 626;) and supports the marriage by a divine command and revelation 228
Scandal of the transaction thus removed 231
The *Veil*, or curtain, imposed on Mahomet's wives . . . . . *ib.*
Moslem women to be partly veiled when walking abroad 233
Rules for entering the houses, &c. of neighbours 234
These restrictions rendered necessary by the loose code of the Coran . . *ib.*
Visiting his wives out of their turn, permitted to Mahomet by divine sanction 235
Mahomet attacks and takes captive the Bani Mustalick 237
Altercation between the Citizens and the Refugees 239
Mahomet orders an immediate march . . . . . *ib.*
Abdallah and the disaffected citizens reprimanded in the Coran . . . 240
Mahomet marries *Juweiria*, daughter of the Mustalick chief . . . 242
Ayesha falls into trouble : her misadventure, on the march, with Safwân . 244
Mahomet's estrangement from Ayesha 245
Scandal occasioned by the occurrence in Medîna 246
Mahomet chides his followers for meddling in the matter . . . . *ib.*
He consults Osâma and Ali 247
Ayesha is cleared by a revelation from heaven 248
Passages of the Coran revealed on the occasion 249
The calumniators of Ayesha are scourged 250
Hassân is conciliated by the present of an estate 251
Hassân writes an ode in praise of Ayesha, who is reconciled to him . . *ib.*
Guilt or innocence of Ayesha 252
The law of slander established by Mahomet . . . . . *ib.*
Mahomet, through the Coran, cautions his wives against immodesty . . 253

CHAPTER SEVENTEENTH.

Siege of Medîna, and Massacre of the Bani Coreitza. Dzul Cáda A.H. V. February, March, A.D. 627.

More stirring scenes open upon Mahomet 255
The Coreish, joined by an immense force of the Bedouin tribes, march against Medîna . . . . . *ib.*
Mahomet defends Medîna by digging a trench. Shawwâl, A.H. V. Feb. A.D. 627 256
The army of Medîna posted within the trench. 8th Dzul Cáda, A.H. V. 2nd March, A.D. 626 258

Page

The Coreish encamp opposite them, and detach the Bani Coreitza from the side of Mahomet 258
Danger to Medîna from this defection, and measures for its safety . . 261
A party of the enemy's horse clear the ditch, but are driven back by Ali . *ib.*
General attack on the following day upon the line of defence—unsuccessful 262
Prayers repeated in the evening for those missed during the day . . . 263
Secret negotiation to buy off the Ghatafân, abandoned 264
Mutual distrust excited by an emissary from Mahomet between the Jews and the Coreish 265
A tempest: Abu Sofiân orders the allied force to be broken up . . . 267
The enemy retires, which Mahomet attributes to divine interposition in answer to his prayers 268
The Moslem army breaks up, but is immediately formed again to chastise the Bani Coreitza 269
Siege of the Bani Coreitza. Dzul Cáda and Dzul Hijj, A.H. V. March A.D. 626. 270
Abu Lubâba visits the Coreitza 271
The Bani Coreitza surrender at the discretion of the Bani Aws . . . 272
Sád ibn Muâdz appointed arbiter of their fate 273
The bloody judgment of Sád 274
The butchery of the Bani Coreitza 276
Mahomet takes Rihâna, a captive girl, for his concubine 278
The captive women and children sold as slaves in Najd, in exchange for horses *ib.*
Notice of these incidents in the Coran: Sura XXXIII. 279
These events greatly improved the position of Mahomet 281
Effect of the massacre of the Bani Coreitza: its moral bearing on the character of Mahomet 282
Death-bed of Sád ibn Muádz, and his burial 284

SUPPLEMENT.

The Portions of the Coran revealed during the first Five Years of Mahomet's Residence at Medîna.

Retrospect of the character of the portions of the Coran revealed at Medîna 289
Mahomet, on his first arrival at Medîna, endeavours to stir up the Jews to gratitude, and to persuade them to bear evidence in his favour . . . *ib.*
On their refusal to acknowledge him, Mahomet changes the style of his address to rebuke and reproach 290
The Jews are thus stirred up to hatred of Mahomet 291
They are accused of encouraging idolatry at Mecca 292
The removal of the Jews from the scene is followed by the discontinuance of Jewish legends and reference to the Jewish scriptures in the Coran . 293

Page
But the Scriptures are still spoken of with reverence 294
The Coran becomes the depository of rules and comments in all departments of the theocratic government 295
Though simple in his habits, Mahomet assumed the real power and dignity of a prince 296
Honour, reverence, and prerogatives assumed by him 298
The conceit that he is the favourite of heaven, a key to the special prerogatives assigned to him in the Coran 299
But no supernatural character asserted . . . . . *ib.*
Irreverential manner in which the weekly service was at first observed . *ib.*
Drunkenness common till wine was forbidden 300
Influence of Judaism still maintained in moulding the institutions of Mahomet 301
Coarseness of his instructions regarding marriage and divorce . . . 302
Corruption engendered thereby in Moslem literature . . . . . *ib.*
Female slavery perpetuated 303
Unmarried women, how affected by his system . . . . . *ib.*
Married women and female slaves occupy an inferior and debased position . *ib.*
The position of married women impaired by Islam 305
Wretched condition of female slaves . . . . . *ib.*
Divorce thrice repeated, irrevocable. Revolting condition on which alone the original marriage can be reverted to 306
Warlike spirit of the Coran 307
References to the Coreish and to idolatry 308
Waverers threatened: but the "weak" believers at Mecca comforted. . 309
The style of this period tame, but with occasional touches of poetic fire . *ib.*
Instances of the latter . . . . . *ib.*

APPENDIX.

Chronological Order of the Suras revealed at Medîna.

Account of the Medîna *Suras* 311
Reason why they cannot be accurately arranged in chronological sequence . *ib.*
The main periods and subjects of each Sura indicated . . . . . *ib.*

LIFE OF MAHOMET.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

Arrival at Medîna.—Building of the Mosque.

A.H. I. *June* 622, A.D. *to January* 623, A.D.

AT the close of the Sixth Chapter, we left Mahomet and Abu Bakr, on the second day after their escape from the cave, already beyond the reach of pursuit, and rapidly wending their way towards Medîna.

I. Rabi A.H. I. June 622 A.D. Flight of Mahomet and Abu Bakr to Medîna.

They had by this time joined the common road to Syria which runs near the shore of the Red Sea. On the morning of the third day a small caravan was observed in the distance. The apprehensions of the fugitives were soon allayed, for Abu Bakr recognized at the head of the caravan his cousin Talha, who was returning from a mercantile trip to Syria. Warm was the greeting, and loud the congratulations. Talha opened his stores, and, producing two changes of fine white Syrian raiment, bestowed them on his kinsman and the Prophet. The present was welcome to the soiled and weary travellers; yet more welcome was the assurance that

They meet Talha by the way.

Talha had left the Moslems at Medîna in eager expectation of their Prophet. So Mahomet and Abu Bakr proceeded on their journey with lighter hearts and quickened pace; while the merchant continued his way to Mecca. There Talha disposed of his venture; and, so little were the Meccans even now disposed to molest the believers, that after quietly adjusting his affairs, he set out unopposed some little time afterwards for Medîna, with the families of Mahomet and Abu Bakr.*

Progress towards Medina.

After proceeding some way farther on the caravan route, Mahomet and his companions struck off to the right, by a way called the road of Madlaj.† The valleys which they crossed, the defiles they ascended, the spots on which the fugitive Prophet performed his devotions, have all been preserved in tradition by the pious zeal of his followers. At Arj, within two days' journey of Medîna, one of the camels, worn out by the rapid travelling, became unable to proceed. A chief of the Aslam tribe, residing there, supplied a fresh camel in its stead, and also furnished a guide.

They approach the city.

At length, on the morning of Monday, eight days after quitting Mecca, the litttle party reached Al Ackîck, a valley which traverses the mountains,

* *K. Wâckidi*, 212-220½.

† *Tabari*, 193. They took this road after passing Thaniat al Marrah. It lay between the Amc and Rooha roads.—*Sprenger*, 210. The names of the stages are preserved, but few of the places are now identifiable.

four or five miles to the S.W. of Medîna.* The heat was intense; for the summer sun, now approaching the meridian, beat fiercely on the bare ridges and stony defiles, the desolation of which was hardly relieved by an occasional clump of the wild acacia.† Climbing the opposite ascent, they reached the crest of the mountain. Here a scene opened on them which contrasted strangely with the frowning peaks and the dark naked rocks, in the midst of which for hours they had been toiling. It was Medîna, surrounded by verdant gardens and groves of the graceful palm. What thoughts crowded on

* The Wadi al Ackîck has a north-westerly direction, and discharges its waters into Al Ghâba, the basin in which collects the drainage of the Medîna plain. *Burckhardt*, 402; *Burton*, ii. 24. Our travellers appear to have proceeded along the valley eastward, for some space, till they reached Aljathjátha. *K. Wâckidi*, 44½.

† The approach to Medîna is described by *Burton*, ii. pp. 18-27. The mountains are composed of "inhospitable rocks, pinnacle-shaped, of granite below, and in the upper parts, fine limestone;" but about the Wadi al Ackîck the surface is "black scoriaceous basalt." Burckhardt says that "all the rocky places" about Medîna, "as well as the lower ridge of the northern mountainous chain, are covered by a layer of volcanic rock; it is of a bluish black colour, very porous, yet heavy and hard, not glazed, like Schlacken, and contains frequently small white substances in its pores of the size of a pin's head, which I never found crystallized. The plain has a completely black colour from this rock, and the pieces with which it is overspread. I met with no lava, although the nature of the ground seemed strongly to indicate the neighbourhood of a volcano." Burckhardt adds the account of a volcanic eruption, A.D. 654, the stream of lava from which passed not far from Medîna, on the east; but he attributes the volcanic substances about the town and the valley Ackîck to some earlier eruption: vol. iii. 358-360. Also, *Burton*, ii. 30.

MEDÎNA and its environs.

the mind of the Prophet and his faithful friend as they gazed on the prospect below them! Widespread is the view from the heights on which they stood, and well fitted to stir the heart of any traveller.* The vast plain of Najd stretches away towards the south as far as the eye can reach, while on the eastern horizon it is bounded by a low line of dark hills. To the north the prospect is arrested, at the distance of three or four miles, by the granite masses of Ohod, a spur of the great central chain. A well-defined watercourse, flowing from the south-east under the nearest side of the city, is lost among the north-eastern hills, the cliffs of which touch the city on this quarter. To the right, Jebel Ayr, a ridge nearly corresponding in distance and height with Ohod, projects into the plain and bounds it on the south-west. Closely pressing on the southern suburb, and in bright contrast to the wild rocks and rugged peaks around and behind our travellers, are the orchards of palm-trees for which Medîna has in all ages been famous. One sheet of gardens extends uninterruptedly to Coba, a suburb about two miles to the south, the loveliest and most verdant spot in all the plain.† Around the city in every direction, date-trees and green fields

* It is well decribed by *Burton*, ii. 28; see also p. 168; and *Burckhardt*, iii. 122.

† "I believe Kuba to be about three miles S.S.E. of El Medina; but El Idrisi, Ibn Haukal, and Ibn Jubayr, all agree in saying two miles." *Burton*, ii. 209.

meet the eye, interspersed here and there with the substantial houses and fortified hamlets of the Jewish tribes, and the suburban residences of the Aws and Khazraj.* The tender reminiscence of childhood, when he visited this place in company with his mother, was perhaps the first thought to cross the mind of Mahomet. But more pressing considerations were at hand. How would he be received? Were his adherents powerful enough to secure for him a unanimous welcome? Or would either of the contending factions, which had often stained with blood that peaceful plain, be roused against him? Before putting the friendship of the city to actual test, it would be prudent to retire to one of the suburbs, and Coba lay invitingly before them. "Lead us," said Mahomet, addressing the guide, "to the Bani Amr ibn Awf at Coba, and draw not nigh unto Medîna."† So leaving the Medîna path to the left, they descended into the plain and made for Coba.

Mahomet makes for Coba.

For several days the city had been in expectation of its illustrious visitor. Tidings had been received of Mahomet's disappearance from Mecca; but no one knew of his three days' withdrawal to the cave. He ought before now to have arrived, even supposing delay in consequence of a devious route. Every morning a large company of the converts of Medîna, and the refugees from Mecca, had for some days gone

The people of Medîna watch for the coming of Mahomet.

* *C. de Perceval*, ii. 645. † *K. Wâckidi*, 44½.

forth a mile or two on the Meccan road, and posted themselves on the *harrat* or first rocky ridge to the west of the city. There they watched till the fierce rays of the ascending sun drove them from the unsheltered spot to their homes. On this day they had gone out as usual, and, after a fruitless watch, had retired to the city, when a Jew, catching a glimpse of the three travellers wending their way to Coba, shouted from the top of his house, "Ho! ye Bani Cayla!* He has come! He whom ye have been looking for has come at last!" Every one now hurried forth to Coba. A shout of joy arose from the Bani Amr ibn Awf (the Awsite tribe which inhabited Coba)† when they found that Mahomet had come amongst them. The wearied travellers, amidst the greeting of old friends and the smiles of strange faces, alighted and sat down under the shadow of a tree.‡ It was Monday, the 28th of June, A.D. 622.

He arrives 12th Rabî I.

* *C. de Perceval*, ii. 647. *Bani Cayla* means the Aws and Khazraj. Cayla was the mother of the two patriarchs of those branches.

† This quarter was called *Aliya*, or Upper Medîna, from its more elevated position. Upper Medîna included "Coba and Khatma, and some other tribes, with the Jewish settlements of the Coreitza and Nadhîr." *K. Wâckidi*, 101-282½.

‡ When Mahomet arrived he was on Abu Bakr's camel. Few persons present knew which was the Prophet, till the sun's rays fell upon him, and then Abu Bakr rose to place him in the shade. Out of this has grown the tradition that the people of Medîna recognized the Prophet from his body *casting no shadow*.

Abu Bakr was known to some of the citizens, as he used to pass through Medîna on his mercantile trips to Syria. *K. Wâckidi*, 45.

The journey had been accomplished in eight days. The ordinary time is eleven.* A.H. I. 28th June 622 A.D.

The joyful news was speedily spread over the city. The very children in the streets cried out in delight,—"Here is the Prophet! He is come! He is come!" The converts from all quarters flocked to Mahomet and made their obeisance to him. He received them courteously, and said,—"Ye People! shew your joy by giving to your neighbours the salutation of peace: send portions to the poor: bind closely the ties of relationship: offer up prayer whilst others sleep. Thus shall ye enter Paradise in peace."† Is joyfully received.

It was shortly arranged that Mahomet should for the present lodge at Coba with Kolthûm, an hospitable chief, who had already received many of the emigrants on their first arrival in Medîna. A great part of every day was also spent in the house of Sád the son of Khaithama, one of the Awsite "Leaders." There Mahomet received such persons as wished to see him, and conferred with his friends on the state of feeling in Medîna.‡ Lodges with Kolthûm at Coba.

---

* It *can* be travelled by swift dromedaries in five days. *Burton*, ii. 329-331: *C. de Perceval*, iii. 17: *Burckhardt*, 316. See above, vol. ii. 146.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 45.

‡ *Ibid.* and 299½; *Hishâmi*, 172. The bachelor refugees were accommodated in great numbers in Sád's house, so that it went by the name of the "bachelors' hostelry:" منازل العزاب He was himself a bachelor.—*Reff.* as above, and *K. Wâckidi*, 229½; *Tabari*, 200. For the *Leaders*, see vol. ii. 238.

Abu Bakr lodges at Al Sunh.

Abu Bakr was entertained by another Awsite chief, Khârija ibn Zeid, in the adjoining suburb, Al Sunh. He shewed his gratitude by marrying the daughter of Khârija, and permanently took up his residence with the family.*

Ali joins Mahomet;

A day or two after Mahomet's arrival, Ali, who, as we have seen, remained only three days at Mecca subsequently to the disappearance of Mahomet, and must therefore have set out shortly after him, reached Medîna, and was accommodated by Kolthûm in the same house with the Prophet.†

who remains four days at Coba, and founds a Mosque.

It was soon determined in the council of Mahomet that he might with safety enter Medîna. The welcome he had received was warm, and to all appearance unanimous and sincere. The elements of disaffection might be slumbering among the yet unconverted citizens, Jews, and idolaters; but they were unnoticed amid the universal expression of joy and the first impulse of generous hospitality. Mahomet, therefore, stopped only four days at Coba,—

---

* That is to say, his wife remained there, and he used to visit her there when it was her turn to enjoy his society; for he had other wives. Khârija belonged to the Bani Hârith ibn Khazraj. He was joined in *brotherhood* (the practice will be explained below) to Abu Bakr. *K. Wâckidi*, 212. Others say that Abu Bakr first alighted at the house of Khobeib or Hobeib ibn al Asâf.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 182; *Hishâmi*, 172. Tabari (p. 200) gives also another version, according to which Ali stayed a day or two in the house of an unmarried female, into whose house a man used at midnight to bring pieces of demolished idols.

from Monday till Friday.* During this period, he laid the foundations of a Mosque at Coba, which at a later period was honoured in the Coran with the name of the "Mosque of Godly fear."†

Departure for Medina.

On the morning of Friday, Mahomet mounted his favourite camel, Al Caswa, taking Abu Bakr behind him,‡ and, surrounded by a crowd of followers, proceeded towards the city. He halted at a place of prayer in the vale of the Bani Sâlim, a Khazraj tribe; and there performed his first Friday service, with about a hundred Moslems.§ On this occasion he added a sermon, or harangue, composed chiefly

Performs public service by the way.

---

* Some accounts extend Mahomet's residence at Coba to a *fortnight*. The discrepancy arises from a diversity in the traditional date of departure from Mecca; some giving the second, others the twelfth, of the first Rabi, as the day of arrival at Coba. Those who adopt the former date are obliged to add *ten* days to the stay at Coba, in order to adjust their chronology, and hit the right day of Mahomet's entry into Medîna. The discrepancy in so late an event, and one so public, is not creditable to tradition. It shows what elements of uncertainty, supposition, *and calculation*, are mingled as fact with what is really good tradition.

† *Sura*, IX. 110. Mahomet enlarged it after the Kibla was changed, and advanced its foundations and walls "to their present position." He himself, with his followers, aided in carrying the materials. He used to visit it every Saturday, and attached to the saying of prayers therein the merit of the (*omra*) lesser pilgrimage. *K. Wâckidi*, 47.

‡ *Ibid.* 45.

§ *Ibid.* 45½; *Hishâmi*, 172; *Tabari*, 215; *Burton*, ii. 132 *and* 322. "The Masjid el Jumah—of Friday, or El Anikah—of the Sandheaps, is in the valley near Kuba, where Mohammed prayed and preached on the first Friday after his flight from Mecca."

of religious exhortation and eulogy on the new faith.* Friday was thenceforward set apart for the weekly celebration of public worship.

Entry into the city.

When the service was finished Mahomet resumed his advance towards Medîna. He had sent a message to the Bani Najjâr, his relatives, through Salma the mother of Abd al Mottalib,† to escort him into the city. But there was no need of special invitation. The tribes and families of Medîna came streaming forth, and vied one with another in shewing honour to their visitor. It was a triumphal procession. Around the camels of Mahomet and his immediate followers, rode the chief men of the city, clad in their best raiment and in glittering armour. The cavalcade pursued its way through the gardens and palm groves of the southern suburbs; and as it now threaded the streets of the city, the heart of Mahomet was gladdened by the incessant call from one and another of the citizens who flocked around;—"Alight here, O Prophet! We have abundance with us; and we have the means of defence, and weapons, and room. Abide with us." So urgent was the appeal that sometimes they seized hold of Al Caswa's halter. Mahomet answered them all courteously and kindly;—"The decision," he said, "rests with the camel; make way

* *Tabari*, 216, gives the sermon professedly word for word; but it is evidently a fabrication.

† Vol. I. Introduction, chap. IV. pp. cli. and cliii.

therefore for her; let her go free." It was a stroke of policy. His residence would be hallowed in the eyes of the people as selected supernaturally; while any heart-burnings of the jealous tribes, which otherwise might arise from the quarter of one being preferred before the quarter of another, would thus receive a decisive check.*

His camel halts at an open yard.

Onwards moved Al Caswa, with slackened rein; and, leaving the larger portion of the city to the left, entered the eastern quarter, inhabited by the Bani Najjâr. There, finding a large and open court-yard, with a few date-trees, she halted and sat down.†

Mahomet occupies Abu Ayûb's house;

The house of Abu Ayûb was close at hand. Mahomet and Abu Bakr, alighting, inquired who was the owner of it. Abu Ayûb stepped forward and invited them to enter. Mahomet became his guest, and occupied the lower story of his house for seven months, until the Mosque and his own apartments were ready. Abu Ayûb offered to give up the higher story of his house, in which his family lived; but Mahomet preferred the lower, as being more accessible for his visitors.‡

---

* *K. Wâckidi*, 45½; *Hishâmi*, 172.

† As usual, to invest the incident with a supernatural air, it is added that Mahomet, having left the rein quite loose, Al Caswa got up again, and went a little way forward, when she perceived her error, returned straightway to the selfsame spot, knelt down, and placing her head and neck on the ground, refused to stir. *Hishâmi*, 173.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 45-45½. Abu Ayûb (or Khâlid ibn Zeid) used to tell a story that he and his wife accidentally broke a water-

and is treated with great hospitality.

When Mahomet had alighted, Abu Ayûb lost no time in carrying into his house the saddle and other property of the travellers; while Asád ibn Zorâra, a neighbour, seized Al Caswa's halter and conducted her to his court-yard, where he kept her for the Prophet. Dishes of choice viands, bread and meat, butter and milk, presently arrived from various houses; and this hospitality was kept up daily so long as the Prophet resided with Abu Ayûb.*

Purchases the yard.

The first concern of Mahomet was to secure the plot of land in which Al Caswa halted. It was a neglected spot: on one side was a scanty grove of date-trees; the other, covered here and there with thorny shrubs, had been used partly as a burial-ground and partly as a yard for tying camels up. It belonged to two orphan boys under the guardianship of Asád, who had constructed a place of worship there before the arrival of Mahomet, and had already held service within its roofless walls. The Prophet called the two lads before him, and desired to purchase this piece of ground from them that he might build a Mosque upon it. They replied;—"Nay, but we will make a free gift of it to thee." Mahomet would not accept the donation. So the

---

pot, in the upper story; and, having wiped up the water as best they could with their clothes, hurried down to Mahomet's apartment in great alarm lest any of it should have dropped on him. *Hishâmi*, 174. He was killed at Constantinople, A.H. lv. (*Isâba.*)

* *K. Wâckidi*, 45.

price was fixed at ten dinars, which Abu Bakr, at the command of Mahomet, paid over to the orphans.*

Prepares to build a Mosque and houses for his wives.

Arrangements for the construction of a great Mosque, with two houses adjoining,—one for his wife Sauda, the other for his intended bride, the precocious maiden Ayesha,—were forthwith set on foot. The date-trees and thorny bushes were cut down. The graves were dug up and the bones elsewhere deposited. The uneven ground was carefully levelled and the rubbish cleared away. A spring, oozing out in the vicinity, rendered the site damp; it was blocked up, and at length disappeared. Bricks were prepared, and materials collected.†

Is joined by his family from Mecca.

Having taken up his residence in Abu Ayûb's house, Mahomet bethought him of his family; and despatched his freedman Zeid with a slave named Abu Râfi,‡ on two camels, with a purse of 500

---

* *K. Wâckidi*, 46, 297; *Tabari*, 219. The orphans were called Sahal and Soheil. They belonged to the Mâlik branch of the Najjâr; Mahomet's relationship was with the Adî branch. Asâd was one of the *Leaders*. See vol. II. 237, note. He is said to have held regular Friday services on this spot before Mahomet's arrival; but in receiving such traditions we must always beware of their anticipative tendency.

† The court, in the time of Ibn Jubair, contained fifteen date-trees; they are now reduced to a dozen, which are contained in a railed-in and watered space, called "Fatima's Garden." It also contains the remains of a venerable lote-tree. The "Prophet's well" is hard by. *Burton*, ii. 105.

‡ He was a servant of Abbâs, who gave him to Mahomet, who is said to have freed him on his bringing tidings of the conversion of Abbâs. He was also called *Aslam*. *K. Wâckidi*, 46.

dirhems, to fetch them from Mecca. They met there with no difficulty or opposition, and returned with Sauda, the Prophet's wife, and his two daughters Omm Kolthûm and Fatima, the former of whom had been married into the family of Abu Lahab, but, being separated, had for some time been living in her father's house. Zeinab, the eldest daughter, remained at Mecca with her husband, Ab ul Aas. Rockeya, the second, had already emigrated to Medîna with her husband Othmân. Zeid brought with him his own wife, Omm Ayman (Baraka) and their son Osâma.*

and Abu Bakr's family.

Accompanying the party were Ayesha and her mother Omm Rumân, with other members of the family of Abu Bakr, who had perhaps supplied the purse of money to Zeid. They were conducted by Abu Bakr's son Abdallah and (as we have seen above) by Talha.†

Sauda, Mahomet's wife.

The family of Abu Bakr, including Ayesha, was

---

* Osâma was only from eighteen to twenty years old at Mahomet's death, and could not therefore have been above eight or ten now.

† Above p. 2. The authorities are *K. Wâckidi*, 46, 220½; *Tabari*, 223. Talha (at what period I do not know) married Omm Kolthûm, daughter of Abu Bakr, with whom he always seems to have been on terms of close intimacy.

Tabari relates that Abdallah ibn Oreikat, the guide (vol. ii. 249), brought back to Mecca news of Abu Bakr having reached Medîna, on which his family set out to join him. Zeid probably went back to Mecca with this guide.

accommodated in a neighbouring house.* Sauda probably lived with Mahomet in the house of Abu Ayûb. Of this lady's character we know little, save that, having emigrated with her former husband to Abyssinia, she was more than ordinarily devoted to the cause of Islam. From the time of their marriage shortly after the death of Khadija, she continued to be for three or four years the only wife of Mahomet.

Damp and unwholesome climate of Medîna.

The climate of Medîna contrasts strongly with that of Mecca. In summer, the days are intensely hot (a more endurable and less sultry heat, however, than at Mecca); but the nights are cool and often chilly. The cold in winter† is, for the latitude, severe, especially after rain, which falls heavily in occasional but not long-continued showers. Even in summer, these are not infrequent. Heavy rain always deluges the adjacent country. The drainage in some quarters is sluggish, and after a storm the water forms a wide-spread lake in the open space between the city and the southern suburb. The humid exhalations from this and other stagnant pools, and perhaps the luxuriant

* That of Hârith ibn Nomân. The marriage of Ayesha, however, took place in her father's new home at Al Sunh. Abu Bakr had a house near the Mosque for his previous wife and family. Burton tells us:—"Some say that Abu Bakr had no abode near the Mosque, but it is generally agreed upon that he had many houses, one in El Bakia, another in the higher parts of El Medina (Aliya or Al Sunh ?); and among them a hut on the spot between the present gates, called Salam and Rahmah," *i.e.* of the Mosque. (ii. 135.)

† *i.e.* from October till April. *Burton*, ii. 172; *Burckhardt*, 398. The cold in winter, and stormy weather, is very severe; ice

vegetation in the neighbourhood, render the stranger obnoxious to attacks of intermittent fever, which is often followed by swelling and tumours in the legs and stomach, and sometimes proves fatal. The climate is altogether unfavourable to health.

The refugees suffer from the Medina fever.

Accustomed to the dry air and parched soil of Mecca, the refugees were severely tried by the dampness of the Medîna summer, and the rigour of its winter. Mahomet himself escaped, but the most of his followers were prostrated by fever. Abu Bakr and his whole household suffered greatly. Some time after, Ayesha related to Mahomet how they all wandered in their speech from the intensity of the fever, and how they longed to return to their Meccan home; on which Mahomet, looking upwards, prayed,—"O Lord! make Medîna dear unto us,

---

and snow are known in the adjoining hills; which is not unnatural, if, as Burton says, the city be 6,000 feet above the sea: but this estimation is perhaps exaggerated. The height, however, must be great, as the rise of the mountains is rapid and continuous on the western side, and the descent insignificant on the eastern, from the crest to the city. *Burckhardt,* 322. The city is much exposed to storms. "Chilly and violent winds from the eastern deserts are much dreaded; and though Ohod screens the town on the N. and N.E., a gap in the mountains to the N.W. fills the air at times with rain and comfortless blasts. The rains begin in October, and last with considerable intervals through the winter; the clouds, gathered by the hill tops and the trees near the town, discharge themselves with violence; and at the equinoxes, thunderstorms are common. At such times the Barr el Munakhah, or the open space between the town and the suburbs, is a sheet of water, and the land about the S. and S.E. wall of the faubourg, a lake." *Burton* ii. 172.

even as Mecca, or even dearer. Bless its produce, and banish far from it the pestilence!"*

To raise the spirits of his followers thus depressed by sickness, to draw them into closer union with the Medîna converts, and counteract their pining after home, Mahomet established a new and peculiar fraternity between the refugees and the citizens. "Become brethren every two and two of you," he said; and he set the example by taking Ali, or as others say, Othmân, for his brother.† Accordingly each of the refugees selected one of the citizens as his brother. The bond was of the closest description, and involved not only a peculiar devotion to each other's interests in the persons thus associated, but in case of death it superseded the claims of blood, the "brother" becoming exclusive heir to all the property of the deceased. From forty-five to fifty refugees were thus united to as many citizens of Medîna.‡

"Brotherhood" between the refugees and citizens of Medina.

---

* *Hishâmi*, 206. This pestilence was so universal that at one time Mahomet is said to have been almost the only one at prayers able to stand up; but he said, "the prayer of one who sits is worth only half the prayer of him that stands;" so they all made violent efforts to stand up. *Ibid.*

† It is difficult to say which of these accounts is correct; but I should think the tradition in favour of Othmân less likely to have been fabricated and perpetuated, if not true, than that in favour of Ali. In *K. Wâckidi*, 191½, the tradition in favour of Othmân is given in a distinct and positive form.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 46; *Hishâmi*, 179. But another tradition is given from Wâckidi, that 50 refugees and 150 citizens were thus united; which would imply either that some refugees had each more

This peculiar custom lasted for about a year and a half, when Mahomet finding it, after the victory of Badr, to be no longer necessary for the encouragement of his followers, and probably attended with some inconvenience and unpopularity, abolished the bond, and suffered inheritance to take its usual course.

Building of the Mosque:

During the first half-year of Mahomet's residence at Medîna, his own attention and that of his followers was mainly occupied by the construction of the Mosque, and of houses for themselves. In the erection of their house of prayer all united with an eager enthusiasm. Their zeal was stimulated by Mahomet, who himself took an active share in the work, and joined in the song which the labourers chanted as they bore along their burdens:—

"O Lord! there is no happiness but that of futurity.
O Lord! compassionate the men of Medîna and the Refugees!"*

The site is the same as that now occupied by the

---

than one citizen for his brother (which does not appear to have been the case), or that some of the citizens were united in brotherhood among themselves. This was done among the refugees in a few cases in which they paired off among themselves, as in that of Mahomet, and of Hamza, who was joined to Zeid (Mahomet's freedman); and of Abu Bakr, who was joined to Omar; but the ordinary practice was that stated in the text. Hishâmi gives the names of a considerable number of the pairs.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 46; *Hishâmi*, 173. See also above, vol. ii. 186, where it is stated that Mahomet inverted the words, thus spoiling the rhyme. He affected to have no ear for distinguishing poetry. The rhythm of the Coran was therefore held to be a proof of its divine origin.

great Mosque of Medîna; but its construction and dimensions were less ambitious. It was built four-square, each side being one hundred cubits, or somewhat less, in length. The foundations, to three cubits above the ground, were built of stone; the rest of the wall was of brick. The roof was supported by trunks of palm-trees, and covered over with branches and rafters of the same material. The Kibla, or quarter whither the faithful directed their faces while they prayed, was due north. At prayer, Mahomet stood near the northern wall, looking towards Jerusalem; his back was thus turned upon the congregation, who stood in rows behind him, facing in the same direction. When he preached he turned round towards them. To the south, opposite the Kibla, was a gate for general entrance.* Another opened on the west, called Bâb *Atika*, or Bâb *Rahmah*, the Gate of Mercy, a name it still retains. A third gate, on the eastern side, was reserved for the use of Mahomet. South of this gate, and forming part of the eastern wall of the Mosque, were the apartments destined for the Prophet's wives. The house of Ayesha was at the extreme S.E. corner, the road into the Mosque passing behind it. That of Sauda was next; and beyond it were the apartments of Rockeya and her husband Othmân, and of the two other daughters

and apartments for the Prophet's wives.

* This was probably removed when the Kibla was turned towards the south. It corresponded with the Bâb Salam, afterwards opened out to the north.

of Mahomet.* In later years, as Mahomet added rapidly to the number of his wives, he provided for each a room, or house, on the same side of the Mosque. From these he had private entrances into the Mosque, used only by himself. The eastern gate still bears in its name—*Bâb al Nisa*, "the *Women's* porch"—the memory of these arrangements.† To the north the ground was open. On that side a place was appropriated for the poorer followers of Mahomet who had no home of their own. They slept in the

---

*فلما فرغ من البناء بني يعايشه في البيت الذي يليه شارع الى المسجد و جعل سوده فى البيت اكاخره الذى يليه الى الناب الذى يلى آل عثمان *K. Wâckidi*, 46½. Wâckidi mentions elsewhere that when Mahomet laid out the ground about the Mosque, he allotted to Othmân the plot on which his house was built, and on which it was standing in Wâckidi's time. He adds that the opening خوخه in the house "at this day" is opposite the door in the Prophet's house, from whence the latter used to issue when he visited Othmân. *Ibid.* 189. The position of Ayesha's room, or the *Hujra*, may be seen in the plan of the Mosque, p. 60 of Burton's second vol. It is there represented as a square of 50 or 55 feet; but the original proportions have been altogether altered by the taking in of adjoining apartments. See also pp. 71 and 89. The note at the latter page states that the room of Aly and Fatima adjoined that of Mahomet and Ayesha, and that there was a window between, which was never shut,—a palpable Aly-ite fabrication.

† Burton says that women enter indifferently at any gate of the Mosque. He traces this name therefore to the proximity of the gate to Fatima's tomb; but it evidently originated in this side of the Mosque being inhabited by the women of Mahomet's family, and their entrance being here.

Mosque, and had a sheltered bench or pavement (*soffah*) outside.* Mahomet used to send them portions from his table; and others followed his example. But in a few years victory and plunder caused poverty and distress to disappear, and "the men of the bench" lived only in memory. To be near the Prophet, his chief Companions by degrees erected houses for themselves in the vicinity of the Mosque; some of these adjoined upon its court, and had doors opening directly on it.†

The Mosque, how used.

It is to the north of the Mosque, as thus existing in the time of Mahomet, that subsequent additions have been mainly made. The present magnificent buildings occupy probably three or four times the area of the primitive temple. Mahomet was asked why he did not build a permanent roof to his house of prayer. "The thatch," he replied, "is as the thatching of Moses, rafters and small pieces of wood; man's estate is more fleeting even than this." But though rude in material, and comparatively insignificant in extent, the mosque of Mahomet is glo-

* Hence they were called "Ahl Soffa," men of the bench or pavement. Thirty of them are spoken of as ill clad and hungry, but the hunger is exaggerated. *Canon*, II. B. vol. i. p. lx.; *K. Wâckidi*, 49.

† Thus Mahomet in his last illness directed his followers to shut all their doors opening into the Mosque, excepting only Abu Bakr. See also the quotation from Burton (ii. 135) above, at p. 15. Many of these houses were probably cleared away on the enlargement of the Mosque.

rious in the history of Islam.* Here the Prophet and his Companions spent the greater portion of their time: here the daily service, with its oft-recurring prayers, was first publicly established: here the great congregation assembled every week, and trembled often while they listened to the orations of the Prophet and the messages from Heaven. Here he planned his victories. From this spot he sent forth envoys to kings and emperors with the summons to embrace Islam. Here he received the embassies of contrite and believing tribes; and from hence issued commands which carried consternation amongst the rebellious to the very ends of the Peninsula. Hard by, in the room of Ayesha, he yielded up the ghost; and there he lies buried.

Houses of Sauda and Ayesha finished.

The Mosque, and the adjoining houses, were finished within seven months from Mahomet's arrival. About the middle of winter, he left the house of Abu Ayûb, and installed Sauda in her new residence. Shortly afterwards, he celebrated his nuptials with Ayesha, who, though she had been three years affianced, was but a girl of ten years.†

* I say *comparatively small*, for a building 150 feet square must, in the then simple state of Arab society, have been viewed as a spacious edifice. It was amply sufficient for all the purposes of Mahomet, religious and political, as well for a house of prayer as for a place of council and assembly, and a hall of audience.

† *Tabari*, 221. Some place the marriage in the seventh, others in the eighth month after his arrival in Medîna. Ayesha was betrothed at seven years of age, others say at six; so that she could not be now more than ten years of age—a precocious bride! See vol. ii. 208.

He consummated the marriage in her father's house at Al Sunh; and then brought her to the apartments adjoining those of her "sister" Sauda. Marriage with Ayesha.

Thus at the age of fifty-three or fifty-four, a new phase commenced in the life of Mahomet. Hitherto, limiting himself to a single wife, he had shunned the indulgences, with the cares and discord, of polygamy. The unity of his family was now broken, and never again restored. Thenceforward his love was to be claimed, his attention shared, by a plurality of wives, and his days spent between their houses. For Mahomet had no separate apartments of his own. Change thus wrought in Mahomet's domestic life.

For some time we may suppose that the girl of ten or eleven years of age would require at the hands of Mahomet rather the paternal solicitude of a father, than the reciprocal devotion of a husband. He conformed to the infantine ideas of his bride, and at times even joined in her childish games.* But Ayesha was premature in the development of her charms, as well in mind as in person. Very early she displayed a ready wit, with an arch and playful vivacity of manner. She enthralled the heart of Mahomet; and, though afterwards exposed to the frequent competition of fresh rivals, succeeded in maintaining an undisputed supremacy to the end of his life. Ayesha's influence over him.

---

* *Weil*, 88.

Polygamy creates an irreconcilable divergence from Christianity.

By uniting himself to a second wife, Mahomet made a serious movement away from Christianity, by the tenets and practice of which he must have been aware that polygamy was forbidden. Christianity, however, had little influence over him; and the step was not repugnant to Judaism, the authority of which he still recognized, and which, in the example of many well-known kings and prophets, afforded powerful support to his procedure. But whatever the bearing of this second marriage, it was planned by Mahomet in a cool and unimpassioned moment three years before, at Mecca. And it may be doubted whether the propriety of interfering with the licence of Arabian practice, and enforcing between the sexes the stringent restraints of Christianity, was at any time even debated in his mind.

CHAPTER NINTH.

State of Parties at Medîna.—First two Years after Mahomet's Arrival.

A.H. II. A.D. 623.

Parties at Medina.

THE enthusiasm displayed by the inhabitants of Medîna, on their first reception of Mahomet, by degrees found time to subside. The several parties began to settle down into their normal state, and to assume the relations which they were thenceforward permanently to hold. It will be of service to glance for a moment at each of these parties.

I. *Muhajerîn*, or "Refugees."

The followers of Mahomet who had forsaken their homes and preceded or accompanied him in exile were called by the afterwards illustrious title of MUHAJERÎN, or "Refugees." They are already known to the reader as a devoted band, forward to acknowledge Mahomet not only as their prophet and priest, but also as their king. Upon them he could depend to the uttermost.*

* Under the term *Refugees* are included all those converts also who from time to time joined Mahomet at Medîna, coming either from Mecca or from any other quarter, up to the taking of Mecca in A.H. viii. The number of the *Muhajerîn* was then closed. It was only while Mecca was under an idolatrous government that there was any merit in emigrating from it.

II. *Ansâr*, or converts of Medîna.

Next come the converts of Medîna. Bound to Mahomet by fewer ties of blood and antecedent fellowship, they did not yield to the Refugees in loyalty to him, or in enthusiasm for Islam. They had made less outward sacrifice; but their pledge at Acaba had involved them in serious risks, as well from their own countrymen (should they disclaim the engagement), as from the Meccans. In short, they had compromised themselves almost as deeply as the Refugees. Plighted only to *defend* Mahomet in case of attack, they soon practically identified themselves with the Refugees in all offensive measures against his enemies. Hence they were styled ANSÂR, "Helpers" or "Allies." But as, in process of time, Mahomet found many other auxiliaries amongst the Arab tribes, I have ordinarily, to prevent confusion, spoken of them as "the men of Medîna."*

The enmity of the Aws and Khazraj suppressed by Islam.

The ancient feuds of the *Aws* and *Khazraj* were professedly forgotten amongst the converts at Medîna. The very acceptance of the faith required that they should acknowledge not only the spiritual but also the temporal authority of Mahomet, and regard themselves all as brethren. Having surrendered

* Eventually the two terms become convertible; that is to say, when all the citizens of Medîna were ostensibly converted to Islam, they became all *Ansârs*.

I had wished to adopt an English term for this name, such as "*Helpers*," or "*Adjutors*" (the latter designation indeed will be found in a few places in the previous volumes); but I found I could not carry out the intention without either an offence to style or to perspicuity.

themselves wholly to his will and government, there was little room left for internal rivalries. Still, the memory of their long standing jealousy and strife was not always suppressed by the lessons of religion; and believer was often arrayed against believer in unseemly, and sometimes dangerous, contention.

Converts at Medîna numerous.

We have no precise data for calculating the proportion of the inhabitants thus actively ranged on the side of Mahomet. The seventy-five adherents who pledged themselves at Acaba were but the representatives of a larger body left behind at Medîna; and the cause of Islam had since then been daily gaining ground. We may conclude that the professed converts at this time numbered several hundreds.

Abu Amir and his followers go off to Mecca.

There was at Medîna one Abu Amir, who had travelled in Syria and other countries, and from his secluded habits was called the *hermit.* This man professed to be a teacher in religion, and challenged Mahomet as having superadded doctrines of his own to the "Faith of Abraham." Offended at the popularity of the new religion, and sympathizing rather with the people who had cast forth the upstart prophet, Abu Amir, with about twenty followers, retired to Mecca.*

---

* *Hishâmi*, 204; *K. Wâckidi*, 105½; *C. de Perceval*, iii. 21. Abu Amir was the father of Hantzala, one of Mahomet's devoted followers, killed at Ohod. His history is curious. When Mahomet denied his imputations against Islam, Abu Amir abused him as a "poor, solitary outcast," غريبًا وحيدًا طريدًا. "Nay,"

Remaining citizens neutral.

The remaining body of the Aws and Khazraj were either neutral or, at least outwardly, passive in their unbelief. There was no active opposition, nor, as at Mecca, any open denial of Mahomet's supernatural claims. There was, furthermore, no direct antagonism to his temporal authority over his own adherents. The peculiar constitution of Arab society, which admitted the residence of several detached bodies at the same place, each under its separate independent chief, enabled Mahomet freely to exercise an absolute and sovereign control over his own people, without, for the time, extending his claims to any further jurisdiction.*

Mahomet allowed sovereign authority over his adherents.

Idolatry and scepticism suppressed;

But, though there was no apparent hostility, and the whole of the citizens, unbelievers as well as converts, held themselves bound to fulfil the pledge of protection to the exile, yet a strong under-current of jealousy and discontent was rapidly setting in against him. We have before seen that Abdallah ibn Obey, the chief man of the Khazrajites, and the most powerful citizen in all Medîna, was aspiring to the regal dignity, when his hopes were blighted by the

---

replied the Prophet, "that will be thine own fate, thou liar!" He took a prominent part, with fifty followers, in the battle of Ohod; and, after the conquest of Mecca, he retired to Tayif. When the people of Tayif gave in their adhesion to Mahomet, he proceeded to Syria, and there died (in fulfilment of the Prophet's curse) "a wretched solitary outcast."

* *See Introduction*, chap. IV. vol. i. p. ccxlii., for a brief sketch of this state of society.

arrival of Mahomet.* Around Abdallah rallied the numerous party which was sceptical of the Prophet's claims, and unfriendly to the extension of his rule; but these were unable to stem the tide of the Stranger's popularity. The circle of his adherents steadily expanded, and soon embraced nominally the whole city. Idolatry disappeared, and scepticism over-matched, was forced to hide its head.

III. but ill will cherished by the *Disaffected.*

Real belief in Mahomet was not, however, of such rapid growth. Doubts and jealousies possessed the hearts of many, and in private, at a convenient distance from Mahomet, found free expression. They complained that they had foolishly espoused a cause which would make them run the

* *Introduction*, chap. IV. vol. i. p. ccxxxiv. "One day Mahomet saddled his ass, and went forth to inquire after Sád ibn Obâda, who was sick. By the way he passed Abdallah, sitting with a circle of his followers under the shade of his house. Mahomet's courtly manners would not permit him to pass without speaking; so he alighted, and saluted him, and sat a little while beside him, reciting some portion of the Coran, inviting him to God, &c. Abdallah listened quietly till he had ended: then he said,—'Nothing could be better than this discourse of thine if it were true. Now, therefore, do thou sit at home in thine own house, and whosoever cometh to thee preach thus unto him, and he that cometh not unto thee refrain from troubling him, or intruding into his circle with that which he dislikes.' And Mahomet went his way, downcast at that which Abdallah, the enemy of God, had said unto him; which Sád perceiving, inquired the cause. Mahomet recited what Abdallah had said. Then Sád replied,—'Treat him gently, for I swear that when God sent thee unto us, we had already strung pearls to crown him, and he seeth that thou hast snatched the kingdom out of his grasp.'" *Hishâmi*, 205.

gauntlet of all Arabia; and for what return? Only to lose their liberties, and to bring themselves under bondage to a foreign usurper! The class which cherished these sentiments were styled MUNÂFICUN, the "Hypocrites." But *hypocrisy* and *disaffection* are, in the vocabulary of Islam, nearly synonymous; and, as the views of this party displayed themselves rather in political opposition than in religious antagonism, it will be more correct to call them the "Disaffected."*

---

* Ibn Ishâc thus describes this class: "Then the Jewish doctors were filled with hatred and envy of Mahomet, because God had chosen a prophet from amongst the Arabs. And there joined themselves unto these Jews certain men of the Aws and Khazraj, who were in reality little removed from the idolatry of their fathers and rejection of the true faith, only that Islam had by its prevalence overpowered them—the mass having already gone over to it. So they ostensibly joined Islam, and took it as a shield unto them from death; but in secret they were traitors, and their hearts were with the Jews in their rejection of the Prophet." *Hishâmi*, 183.

Tradition delights to hold up this class to scorn, in stories such as the following:—"Jallâs, talking privately of Mahomet's teaching, said,—'Verily, if this man speak the truth, we are all worse than asses.' Omeir, his ward, who was a believer, overheard the saying, and told it to Mahomet; but Jallâs went also to Mahomet, and swore by the day of judgment that he lied. Whereupon, Sura, ix. 7, convicting Jallâs, was revealed.'" *Ibid.* 185. See in further illustration, *Introduction*, vol. i. p. lxxii. *note.* There are also tales of the 'disaffected' being ignominiously expelled from the Mosque, and even from the clubs or social circles of the citizens; but all such tales are to be received with caution, owing to the strong feeling against this class. *See Canon*, I. 1. *Introduction*, vol i. p. lviii.

IV. The *Jews.*

The JEWISH TRIBES located in the vicinity of Medîna were on an entirely different footing. Mahomet, as I have already shown, had not only acknowledged the divine authority of their religion, but rested his own claims, in an important degree, upon the evidence of their Scriptures, and the testimony of their learned men. No object was nearer his heart than a combination with them. His feasts, his fasts, his ceremonies, were, up to this time, framed in close correspondence with Jewish custom. Jerusalem itself was his *Kibla.* Towards that holy spot, the Prophet, and all his followers, turned five times a day while they prostrated themselves in prayer. There was no sacrifice that Mahomet was not prepared to make, short of the abandonment of his claim to the prophetic office, in order to gain the Jews over to his cause.

Mahomet desirous of a combination with them.

It was natural that Mahomet, holding these sentiments, should desire to enter into close union with the Jews. This he did in a formal manner shortly after reaching Medîna; for he associated them in a treaty of mutual obligation, drawn up in writing, between the Refugees and the men of Medîna, in which he confirmed the Jews in the practice of their religion, and in the secure possession of their property. The main provisions of this Contract, as given to us by Ibn Ishâc, are the following:—

The Treaty of Medîna.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE ALL COMPASSIONATE AND MERCIFUL!

"THE CHARTER of Mahomet, the Prophet, between the believers of the Coreish and of Yathreb, and whosoever else joineth himself unto them, and striveth with them * for the Faith,—verily, they are a peculiar people, apart from the rest of mankind. The Refugees, according to their several clans, shall defray the price of blood shed among themselves, and shall ransom honourably their prisoners.† The Bani Awf, according to their clans, shall do the same; and so with the Bani Sâida, Josham, Najjâr, Nabît, Aws, &c., each according to their clans. Whosoever is rebellious, or seeketh to spread iniquity, enmity, or sedition, amongst the Believers, the hand of every man shall be against him, even if he be the son of one of themselves. No Believer shall be put to death for killing an Infidel;‡ nor shall any Infidel be supported against a Believer.

---

* جاهد This word came subsequently to have exclusively the technical signification of Jihâd, *crusade*, or *fighting* for the Faith. If we give it this signification here, it would involve the clause in the suspicion of being a later addition; for as yet we have no distinct development of the intention of Mahomet to impose his religion on others by force: it would have been dangerous, in the present state of parties, to advance this principle. The word is sometimes used in the more general sense in the Coran; *Sura*, xxix. 5, 69; xx. 77, and a few other places.

† The mention of *prisoners* looks a little anticipative; though, in the insecure state of Arab society, the taking of prisoners was possible at any time, and the clause may therefore pass.

‡ This also looks somewhat anticipative: Mahomet had no power to enjoin such an exemption, when his own position was as yet simply permissive.

Whosoever of the Jews followeth* us shall have aid and succour; they shall not be injured, nor shall any enemy be aided against them. Protection shall not be granted by any Unbeliever† to the Coreish of Mecca, either in their persons or their property. Whosoever killeth a Believer wrongfully shall be liable to retaliation; the Moslems shall join as one man against the murderer. The curse of God, and his wrath in the day of judgment, shall rest on the man that shall aid or shelter him.

"The Jews shall contribute with the Moslems, so long as they are at war with a common enemy. The several branches of the Jews,—those attached respectively to the Bani Awf, Bani Najjâr, Bani Aws, &c., are one people with the Believers. The Jews will maintain their own religion, the Moslems theirs. As with the Jews, so with their adherents; excepting him who shall transgress and do iniquity, he alone shall be punished and his family. No one shall go forth but with the permission of

---

* تبعنا *Follows us*, is apparently used here in the sense of "joins our alliance." It does not imply "joins *our religion*;" for the Jews are specially secured in the enjoyment of their own religion.

† *Unbeliever* here refers apparently to that portion of the population of Medîna which had not submitted to Mahomet's claims, and who are thus brought indirectly into the covenant. M. C. de Perceval adds,—"or Jew," but this is not in Hishâmi, iii. 23.

Mahomet.* None shall be held back from seeking his lawful revenge, unless it be excessive. The Jews shall be responsible for their own expenditure, the Moslems for theirs. Each, if attacked, shall come to the assistance of the other. Medîna shall be sacred and inviolable for all that join this Treaty. Strangers, under protection, shall be treated on the same footing as their protectors; but no stranger shall be taken under protection save with consent of his tribe. New questions and doubts, likely to produce evil and danger, shall be referred for decision to God and Mahomet his prophet. War and Peace shall be made in common.†

"And none but the Evil man and the Oppressor shall change the conditions of this charter."‡

---

* I do not know exactly the force of this clause; it signifies, perhaps, that no Believer should emigrate, or leave the country, or go forth to battle.

† A suspicious addition occurs in the original, which excepts from this condition *wars made by the Moslems "against all mankind:"*—evidently an apocryphal clause.

‡ *Hishâmi*, 176. I have given the translation in an abridged form. There is throughout frequent reiteration that upright and honest dealing shall be observed, and that whoever transgresses shall do so at his own risk, &c. After all, it is vain to look for any exact statement of the terms, as it is nowhere said that the original, or any copy, of the treaty was preserved. We can, therefore, only regard the version given by Ishâc as an account transmitted by memory, admitting much vagueness and looseness of expression; and this will account for the several evidently purious cla uses.

Ill-will grows up between Mahomet and the Jews.

It is nowhere stated when this treaty was entered into; but we may naturally conclude that it was not long after the arrival of Mahomet at Medîna. It is probable that, for a short time, the Jews remained on terms of cordiality with their new ally; but it soon became apparent to them that Judaism could not go hand in hand with Islam. The position of Mahomet was no longer negative: his religion was not a mere protest against error and superstition. It was daily becoming more positive and more exclusive in its terms. The Prophet rested his claims on the predictions of the Jewish Scriptures; yet he did not profess to be the Messiah;—the Messiah, he held, had already appeared in the person of Jesus, and had been rejected. He was himself another, and a greater Prophet, also foretold in their Book. The Jews, he said, knew this: they recognized in Mahomet the promised Prophet, "as they recognized their own sons;" yet, out of jealousy and spite, from wilful blindness, they rejected him, as they had rejected their own Messiah. This was the position which Mahomet held: how could they concede it without an entire abandonment of Judaism? It was impossible. Thus Judaism and Islam came rapidly into a state of direct antagonism. Those Jews who joined Mahomet virtually abnegated their ancestral faith, and went over to another. With few exceptions, however, the Jews remained stedfast, and fearlessly testified that their Scriptures contained no

warrant for the assumptions of the Arabian Prophet: the Messiah that was to come, they said, should be of Jewish blood, and of the lineage of David. The disappointed hope of finding in Mahomet a supporter of their faith, naturally changed into bitter and hostile feeling. What availed his oft-repeated professions of respect for their ancient prophets, and allegiance to their Scriptures, when he now so openly contradicted their clearest testimony?

They are inveighed against as blind and stiff-necked.

The few traitors to Judaism, whom Mahomet was able (by what inducements we shall see by and by) to gain over, were of the utmost service to his cause. They were constantly referred to as his "witnesses." They bore evidence that the Prophet's character answered to every mark predicted in their Books; and asserted that their brethren, actuated by jealousy, and mortified that the gift of prophecy should pass over from their nation to another people, had concealed the passages which were favourable to his claims. These were the only men whose eyes were open. Judicial blindness had seized the rest; a "thick covering" enveloped their hearts, and rendered them seared and callous. They followed in the footsteps of their forefathers. What but unbelief and rebellion might be looked for from the descendants of those who murmured against Moses, killed their Prophets, and rejected their Messiah?

The Jews a standing

Such was the plausible reasoning by which

Mahomet succeeded, so far as his own followers were concerned, in setting aside the adverse testimony of the Jews; yet they were a constant cause of trouble and anxiety. They annoyed him with questions, the point of which he found it often difficult to turn aside. The very people to whose corroboration he had spontaneously appealed over and over again in the Coran, proved a stubborn and standing witness against him.* There existed, also, a strong sympathy between the clans of Medîna and the Jewish tribes, which had severally stood by them in their troubles, and had repeatedly shed their blood in their defence. Sympathy in such a direction was dangerous to Mahomet. He resolved to rid him of this source of weakness and risk; and he was not long in finding pretexts which might enable him to gain his end.

cause of annoyance to Mahomet.

Meanwhile, his Revelation teemed with invectives against the Israelites. The tales of their forefathers' disobedience, folly, idolatry, were reiterated at great length; and the conclusion insinuated that the

Notices of them in the Coran.

* Tradition gives a great variety of tales in illustration of this point; but they are all cast in a mould of ridicule and contempt of the Jew, who always comes off the worst, humbled and abased. We may be allowed to doubt whether the scales did not rather turn on the other side. Mahomet evidently smarted under the attacks of the Jews. We have even greater need of caution in receiving these stories than those about the "disaffected." See *Canon* I. II. *Introduction*, lviii.

descendants of so flagitious and incorrigible a race must be equally incorrigible and flagitious.*

These remarks explain Mahomet's secession from Jewish institutions.

This outline, otherwise in some respects premature, is necessary as an introduction to the following chapter, in which we shall find Mahomet gradually receding from the customs and institutions of the Jews, even where he had formerly adopted them.

---

* The reader need not go beyond the Second Sura *(Bacr)*, which appeared in parts during the first period of Mahomet's residence at Medîna, for ample illustration of this.

CHAPTER TENTH.

Religious Institutions, and Miscellaneous Events during the First and Second Years of Hegira. A.D. 623.

THE observance of prayer at five stated times in the day, though these times are nowhere enumerated in the Coran, was probably practised by Mahomet and his followers before they left Mecca. At all events, it was now an essential part, and the most noticeable perhaps and characteristic feature, of Islam. These services were ordinarily performed by Mahomet and some others in the Mosque, but might optionally be performed anywhere. The prayers were invariably led by Mahomet himself, when present; in his absence, by the chief person in the assembly, or by any one else charged by the Prophet with the duty.* The five daily prayers.

* See vol. ii. 267; and Sura, xx. v. 129, there quoted. The only other passages which refer specifically to the *times* of prayer is Sura xvii. 79, which describes only *three* periods, viz., daybreak, midday, and nightfall: it is a late Meccan Sura. The traditional story is that the command for observing five prayers, with the particulars of the ritual, was given to Mahomet in his journey to Heaven. See vol. ii. 219. So with the command for lustration. But there is always a tendency to ante-date the introduction of the observances of Islam.

Lustration preliminary to prayer.

At what period lustration was introduced as a necessary preliminary to prayer, is not certain. This ceremony also may have been adopted at Mecca;* but, however that may be, it was evidently borrowed from the Jews, with whose Law and Tradition the ordinances established by Mahomet respecting the causes and degrees of legal impurity, and the corresponding ablutions, very closely correspond.†

A formal service.

The Believer's life was thus a daily round of religious observances, which, practised by all at first, and maintained perhaps by some, with zeal and spiritual aspiration, soon declined, for the mass, into barren forms. At earliest dawn the Moslem begins the day with lustration, preliminary to the prescribed genuflexions and formularies of prayer; at midday he is called aside from his business for the same duty: in the afternoon, and again when the sun has set, the ceremonies are repeated; and the day is closed in darkness by the same rites with which it opened. Saints and sinners joined (and still join equally) in the stereotyped form; the most heinous crime, just committed or in immediate contemplation, in no respect interferes with the performance of these prayers; and the neglect to observe them is an abne-

* *Sale, Prelim. Disc. Section* iv. 123; *Sura* iv. 41, v. 7. There are a few uncertain traces of the practice of lustration, under certain circumstances, by the Arabs, before the era of Islam; if admitted, I should refer them also to Jewish influence, as described, vol. i. ccxvi.

† *See Sale, Prelim. Disc.* 128; where a more favourable account is given of these prayers. I do not wish to affirm, that with the

gation of the faith, an insult to the majesty of Islam, which demands the interposition of the temporal arm.

The daily prayers were not necessarily congregational. They might be offered up by the worshippers singly or in companies, in the Mosque or at home. But at mid-day of Friday there was appointed a public service in the Mosque, at which the Believers generally, unless detained by sufficient cause, were expected to attend. The usual prayers were on that occasion followed by an address or sermon pronounced by Mahomet. This weekly oration was skilfully adapted to the circumstances and feelings of the audience. It allowed full scope to the eloquence of the Prophet, and by its frequent recurrence helped to confirm his influence and rivet the claims of Islam.

The Friday, or public and general service.

The sermon.

No religious *antagonism* is to be supposed in the selection of Friday for the public service. Because when he fixed upon it, Mahomet was still on friendly terms with the Jews, and inclined to adopt their institutions. In the Christian Sunday he had a precedent for change, and he may have desired in a similar

Motive for the selection of *Friday*.

more devout Moslems, the ceremonial is not often a channel for spiritual worship. I speak of the *general effect*, as gathered from the impression of tradition on my mind, and (as regards modern Mahometans) from personal observation.

I may observe that the ritual is said originally to have consisted of *two* "Rakaats," or series of genuflexions and formularies; but a month after his arrival at Medîna, Mahomet increased them to *four*, excepting in case of a journey. *Tabari*, 223.

manner to *distinguish* the sacred day of Islam from the Jewish Sabbath.* He may likewise have hoped thus to secure the attendance of the Jews at his public service, which was composed, like theirs, of prayer, reading of the scripture, and a sermon. As a Jew (according to the doctrine of Mahomet at this time) might follow all the precepts of Moses, and yet be a good Mussulman, it is by no means improbable that some Jews may at the first have attended both the Mosque and the Synagogue. We have instances of Rabbins being expelled with ignominy from the Mosque;† and the Synagogue was visited by Mahomet himself, and by his followers.‡

Jerusalem the first *Kibla.*

Jerusalem was the first *Kibla* of Mahomet; that is to say, after the fashion of the Jews, he and his followers prayed with their faces turned always towards the Temple of Solomon.§ When there was

* It must be remarked, that strictly speaking, there is not any proper analogy between the Jewish Sabbath and the Mussulman Friday. In the latter there is no *hallowing* of the day as one of rest, or even consecration of it, as among Christians, to religious worship. After the public service, the people were encouraged to return to their business.

† *Hishâmi*, 188; see also Weil's *Life of Mohammed*, 90.

‡ On one occasion Mahomet visited the Synagogue of the Jews, and exhorted them to embrace Islam. They asked him of what faith he was? "The faith of Abraham." "But Abraham," replied they, "was a Jew." Mahomet denied this (meaning that Abraham was anterior to the rise of Judaism); and said, "Bring hither the Towrât (Old Testament), that it may judge between us." Whereupon Sura, iii. 23, was revealed. *Hishâmi*, 192. See also Abu Bakr's visit to the Synagogue. *Ibid.* 194.

§ 1 *Kings*, viii.; 2 *Chronicles*, vi.; *Psalm*, v. 7; *Daniel*, vi. 10; *Jonah*, ii. 4.

no longer any hope of gaining over the Jews, or fusing Judaism and Islam into one religion, the ceremony lost its value. It opened a vulnerable point:—"This Prophet of yours," said the Jews tauntingly, "knew not where to find his Kibla, till we pointed it out to him."* It was now the object of Mahomet to transfer the homage of his people from Jerusalem, and to concentrate it upon Mecca. His system would receive a fresh accession of strength and local influence if he thus magnified the Kaaba by making it the Kibla of his people.

The Kibla changed to Mecca.

Tradition admits unanimously that Mahomet greatly *desired* the change. How it was effected is thus told by Wâckidi, with the usual supernatural colouring.† It was the middle of Rajab, sixteen or seventeen months after his arrival in Medîna, that Mahomet, longing for the Kibla to be transferred to the Kaaba, thus addressed his guardian angel:—"O Gabriel! would that the Lord might change the direction of my face at prayer away from the Kibla of the Jews!" "I am but a servant," replied Gabriel. "Address thy prayer to God." So Mahomet made his petition to the Lord. It came to pass, on a certain day, that as

Rajab, A.H. II. Nov. A.D. 623.

* *Tabari*, 243.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 46½; *Tabari*, 241. Traditions vary, some giving the sixteenth, others the seventeenth month after the flight of Mahomet. Two months before the battle of Badr is the best attested date, *i.e* Rajab. It was a *Monday*, some Traditions say. All important events in Mahomet's life are assigned to that day. See vol. i. 15.

he prayed in the Assembly towards the Temple of Jerusalem, and was raising his face upwards, unexpectedly the following message was revealed to him:—*Verily* WE *have seen thee turning about thy face towards the Heavens;* wherefore* WE *shall cause thee to turn toward a Kibla that shall please thee. Turn now thy face toward the Holy Temple of Mecca. Wheresoever ye are, when ye pray, turn toward it.* He had already performed two prostrations in the direction of Jerusalem, when, suddenly giving forth this order, he turned towards the south, and all the congregation turned round also. Thenceforward Jerusalem was abandoned, and the Kaaba became the Kibla of Islam.† The Jews, knowing full well the motives which led to this alteration, were mortified, and still further estranged. Mahomet had cut, as it were, the last link binding him ostensibly to

* *i. e.* looking about in various directions, desiring another Kibla.

† About three miles to the N. W. of the town, close to the Wady el Akik, lies the Mosque called *El Kiblatain*, "the two directions of prayer." Some give this title to the Masjid at Koba.

The incident is one which has elicited a great mass of discrepant tradition. Many different spots are mentioned as the theatre of the occurrence, and many different companies claim the honour of being its witnesses. Tradition delights to tell how, as the rumour spread abroad, one and another was startled by the strange intelligence. Some say it happened in the morning, others in the evening. The most probable account gives the great Mosque as the scene, and the time that of the mid-day prayer. Wâckidi has a tradition that it happened at the house of Omm Bishr (of the B. Salma), with whom he had gone to dine: others say, in the Mosque of Coba. See *Burton*, ii. 320.

their creed. They charged him with fickleness, and with worshipping towards an idolatrous Temple. These charges he endeavoured to meet in the Coran; but it was the victory at Badr, one or two months after, and the subsequent hostilities against the Jews, which furnished the only effective means for silencing their objections.*

---

* I will transcribe the passage in which he seeks to refute the charge, as highly illustrative of our subject. The preceding context relates to the Jews:—

"The Fools from amongst the people will say,—*What hath turned them from their Kiblah, towards which they used to pray?* SAY,—Unto God belongeth the East and the West: he guideth whom he chooseth into the right way.

"Thus have WE made you an intermediate People, that ye should be Witnesses for mankind; and the Prophet shall be Witness for you. We appointed the Kiblah, towards which thou usedst to pray, only that WE might know him who followeth the Apostle from him that turneth back on his heels, although it be a stumbling block, excepting unto those whom God hath directed. And God will not render your faith without effect; for God is gracious and merciful to mankind." [*Here follows the verse quoted in the text; after which the passage proceeds:*—] "Truly those who have received the Scriptures* know that this is the truth from their Lord; and God is not regardless of what they are doing.

"And verily, if thou wert to show unto those who have received the Scriptures every kind of sign, they would not follow thy Kiblah; and thou shalt not follow their Kiblah. Neither doth one part of them follow the Kiblah of the other part.† And if

* The Jews; though a clause in the following verse (noticed in the next note) refers also to Christians.

† That is, each religion has its own (appointed) Kibla; he refers, apparently, to Christians turning towards the east, and Jews towards Jerusalem: whence Mahomet would argue a propriety in his having a peculiar and distinctive Kibla for Islam.

Circumcision.

The rite of *circumcision* is hardly to be mentioned as an institution of Islam. It was current among

---

thou wert to follow their desires, after the knowledge that hath reached thee, then verily thou wert amongst the Transgressors.

"They to whom We have given the Scriptures know this,* even as they know their own children; but verily, a party amongst them hideth the truth designedly.

"The truth is from thy Lord: wherefore be not thou among the Doubters.

"And every (people) hath a direction to which it turneth (in prayer). Wherefore press forward in good works: wheresoever ye may be, God will bring you back together: surely God's power is over all things.

"Now, therefore, from whatsoever place thou comest forth, turn thy face toward the Holy Temple; for it is the truth from thy Lord, and God is not regardless of that which ye are doing.

"From what place soever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the Holy Temple; and wherever ye be, turn your faces towards it; that men may have no cause of dispute against you, excepting them that transgress. Fear them not; but fear ME, that I may fulfil my grace upon you, and that ye may be rightly directed." *Sura*, ii. 143–152.

Shortly after occurs the following passage (addressed probably also to the Jews) in justification of the pilgrim ceremony at *Safa* and *Merwa*, alleged to be, or to have been, the sites where two idols stood:—

"Verily *Safa* and *Merwa* are of the monuments of God. Whosoever, therefore, performeth the greater pilgrimage, of the Holy House, or the lesser, it shall be no crime in him if he perform the circuit of them both. And whoever worketh that which is good of a willing heart, verily God is grateful and knowing." *Sura*, ii. 160.

The defence of the Meccan rites, which I have quoted at length in the Supplement to the sixth Chapter (vol. ii. 268), probably belongs to this period. It is in a late Meccan Sura, and the late Meccan Suras are full of passages added at Medîna. *Ibid.* p. 266, note.

* *i.e.* the rightness of the change; others read, "this *Apostle*," *i.e.*, they recognize Mahomet.

the Arabs as an Abrahamic ceremony,* and continued (without any command in the Coran) to be practised among the followers of Mahomet.

Mahomet at first observes the Fast of the Atonement. 2nd Jumâd, A.H. II. Sept. A.D. 622.

Two or three months after his arrival in Medîna, Mahomet observed the Jews, on the tenth day of their seventh month, keeping the great Fast of the Atonement; † and he readily adopted it for his own people. Prior to this, fasting does not appear to have been a prescribed ordinance of Islam. ‡ It was established at a period when the great

* See vol. i. *Introduction*, p. ccxxix. The practice is held incumbent on Mahometans as a part of the *Sunnat* (vol. i. p. 31); but it is curious that we have no authentic account of Mahomet's own circumcision.

† عاشور or the "Fast of the Tenth." *Leviticus*, xxiii. 27. Geiger identifies it with the Fast of the Atonement, and of course rejects the absurd origin assigned by a popular tradition. "Die Veranlassung des Fasttags Aschura, der offenbar, gleich עָשׂוֹר der zehnte des siebenten Monates (3 M. 23, 27), den Versöhnuntag bedeutet, ist allerdings höchst ungenau." p. 38.

The tradition referred to is that, on Mahomet asking the Jews the origin of the Fast, he was informed that it was in memory of the delivery of Moses out of the hands of Pharoah, and the drowning of the tyrant in the Red Sea:—"*We* have a greater right in Moses than they," said Mahomet; so he fasted with the Jews, and commanded his people to fast also. And when the Fast of Ramadhân was imposed, he did not command the Fast of Ashôr (*i.e.* of the Tenth) to be observed, nor did he forbid it, *i.e.* he left it optional to keep it up as well as the other. *Tabari*, 243.

‡ We have no certain intimation as to Mahomet's own practice at Mecca in this respect. The probability is (notwithstanding the traditions to the contrary, vol. ii. 56, and *Weil*, 91) that fasting was not observed at all till Mahomet came to Medîna: had it been, the traditions regarding the adoption of the Jewish Fast would have been entirely of a different cast.

object of Mahomet was to symbolize with the Jews in all their rules and ceremonies.

The Fast of Ramadhân substituted.

But when it became his endeavour to cast off Judaism and its customs, this fast was superseded by another. Eighteen months after his arrival in Medîna, Mahomet promulgated, as a Divine command, that the following month, or Ramadhân, was to be henceforth observed as an Annual Fast. Although the new ordinance was professedly similar in principle to that of the Jews,* the mode of its observance was entirely different. At first the Moslems (following the Jews, who fasted for four-and-twenty hours, from sunset to sunset) thought themselves bound to abstain night and day from all enjoyments throughout the month. But Mahomet checked this ascetic spirit. His followers were to fast rigorously *by day*, but from sunset till dawn they might eat and drink and indulge in any pleasures otherwise lawful.†

Shaban, A.H. II. Dec. A.D. 623.

---

* "Like as it was ordained for them that preceded you." *Sura*, ii. 184.

† This is provided in v. 188, Sura, ii., which, with the entire passage, containing the institution, penalties, and exemptions, is given below:—

"O ye that believe! A Fast is ordained for you, as it was ordained for those before you, that haply ye may observe Piety;—

"For the computed number of days. The sick amongst you, and the traveller, (shall fast) an equal number of other days; but he that is able to keep it (and neglecteth) shall make atonement by feeding a poor man. And whoever worketh that which is good, of a willing heart, it shall be well for him. And if ye fast it will be well for you, if ye comprehend:—

"In the month of Ramadhân;—wherein the Coran was sent

It was winter when this fast was ordained, and Mahomet probably then contemplated its being always kept at the same season, when the prohibition to eat or drink during the day did not involve any extreme hardship.* In the course of time, however, by the introduction of the lunar year, the month of Ramadhân gradually shifted backward to the summer season; and then the prohibition to

Its unequal pressure and rigour.

---

down; a direction unto mankind, and plain rules of guidance, and a discerner (between good and evil).

"Wherefore let him that is present in this month fast during the same; but he that is sick, or on a journey, shall fast an equal number of other days.

"God willeth that which is easy for you: he willeth not for you that which is difficult; and that ye may fulfil the number of days, and magnify God, for that he hath directed you, and may give thanks. * * *

"It is lawful unto you, during the nights of the Fast, to consort with your wives. They are a garment unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. God knoweth that ye are defrauding yourselves, wherefore he hath turned unto you, and forgiven you. Now, therefore, sleep with them, and earnestly desire that which God hath ordained for you; and eat and drink until ye can distinguish a white thread from a black thread, by the daybreak. Then keep the fast again until night, and consort not with them (during the day); but be in attendance in the places of worship. These are the limits prescribed by God; wherefore draw not near unto them. Thus God declareth his signs unto mankind, that they may observe Piety." *Sura*, ii. 184–188.

* It will be remembered that the Jewish intercalary year was probably in use at this time, which would have prevented any change of season for a very long series of years. When Mahomet introduced the lunar year, he may, or ought to have perceived the effect it would have on the Fast,—making it at some seasons a grievous burden to his followers, not "easy," as in v. 186 he declares God's wish that it should be.

taste water from morning till evening became a burden heavy to bear. The strictness of the fast, as thus instituted by Mahomet, has nevertheless been maintained unrelaxed; and to this day, in the parched plains of India, during the month of Ramadhân, however burning the sun and scorching the wind, the follower of Mahomet may not suffer a drop of water, during the long summer day, to pass his lips; he looks forward with indescribable longing for the sunset, when, without compromising his faith, he may slake his thirst and refresh with food his drooping frame. The trial, though thus unequally severe in different climes and at different terms of the lunar cycle, is no doubt a wholesome exercise of faith and self-denial. But in so far as the fast was intended to be a restraint upon *licentiousness*, its limitation to the daytime necessarily deprives it of all salutary influence.

"*Eed al Fitr*," or Festival of "breaking of the Fast." Shawwal, A.H. II. Feb. A.D. 624.

At the conclusion of the fast, a festival was appointed, called the EED AL FITR, or "breaking of the fast." A day or two before the expiration of Ramadhân, Mahomet assembled the people, and instructed them in the ceremonies to be then observed. On the first day of the following month they were early in the morning to bring together their offerings for the poor; each one—young or old, bond or free, male or female—a measure of dates, of barley, or of raisins, or a smaller measure*

* Tradition takes care to note that this was before the imposition of regular almsgiving, or Zakât, which will be noticed hereafter.

of wheat. "See," said he, "that ye make the poor independent this day, so that they need not to go about and beg." Having presented their alms, all went forth with the Prophet to his *Musalla*, or place of prayer, outside the city on the Meccan road.* A short spear or iron-shod staff, brought by Zobeir from Abyssinia, was carried before him, and planted on the spot. Taking his stand there, the Prophet recited the usual prayers, and then addressed the assembled multitude. The service over, all returned to their homes, and Mahomet distributed at the Mosque the accumulated alms amongst the poor.†

Eed al Zoha combined in the first year with the Fast of the Atonement:

Another great Festival was established by Mahomet—the EED AL ZOHA, or "day of sacrifice." The slaying of victims formed the concluding scene in the pilgrimage to Mecca, and in that ceremony the Festival was eventually merged. But in the first year of the Prophet's residence at Medîna the season of pilgrimage passed unnoticed. In its stead, as mentioned above, Mahomet kept the great Day of Atonement with its sacrifice of victims, in conformity with the practice of the Jews;

Dzul Hijj, A.H. I. Mar. A.D. 623.

* Speaking of "Mahomet's mosque in the Munâkha" (or open space on the west,—between the city and its western suburb), Burton writes:—"Others believed it to be founded upon the Musalla el Nabi, a place where the Prophet recited the first Festival prayers after his arrival at El Medinah, and used frequently to pray, and to address those of his followers who lived far from the Haram." ii. 192.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 48; *Tabari*, 244.

and had he continued on a friendly footing with them, he would probably have maintained this rite.

shifted in the second year to correspond with the Meccan Pilgrimage.

In the following year, however, it was in keeping with his altered relations to abandon altogether the Jewish ritual of sacrifice, and to substitute for it another somewhat similar in character, but grounded on the ceremonies at Mecca.* Accordingly, on the tenth day of Dzul Hijj, while the tribes of Arabia, after making the circuit of Arafât, were engaged in the closing solemnities of the Pilgrimage, Mahomet went forth with his followers to the place of prayer. After a service resembling that on the breaking of the Fast, two fatted sucking kids, with budding horns, were placed before the Prophet. Seizing a knife, he sacrificed one with his own hand, saying: "O Lord! I sacrifice this for my whole people, all those that bear testimony to thy Unity, and to my Mission." Then he called for the other, and slaying it likewise, said: "O Lord! this is for Mahomet, and for the family of Mahomet." Of the latter kid both he and his family partook, and what was over he gave to the poor.† The double sacrifice seems in its main

April, 624, A.D.

* Vol. I. *Introduction*, ccvi.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 48; *Tabari*, 244, 328. In the latter place, another tradition says that he sacrificed *one* goat; but the statement that he sacrificed *two* is the best accredited, besides being accordant with the Jewish practice. *See Lev.* xvi., where Aaron offered a sacrifice "for himself and for his house," besides "the goat of the sin offering that is for the people."

features to have been founded on the practice of the Jewish priest at the Fast of the Atonement, when he sacrificed "first for his own sins, and then for the people's."* This ceremony was repeated by Mahomet every year of his residence at Medîna; and it was kept up there after his decease.†

The summons to prayer was at first the simple cry, "To public prayer!"‡ After the Kibla was changed Mahomet bethought himself of a more formal call. Some suggested the Jewish trumpet, others the Christian bell; but neither was grateful to the Prophet's ear.§ The ADZÂN, or call to prayer, was then established. Tradition claims for it a supernatural origin, thus:—While the matter

The *Adzân*, or Call to Prayer.

---

* *Heb.* vii. 27.

† Wâckidi says that Mahomet used to sacrifice the kids in the vicinity of *Al Zocâck*, near the house of Muavia, and that the same practice was kept up after him by the Leaders of Medîna. The short lance, used at the two Eeds by the Prophet, was in the keeping of the Mueddzin, at Medîna, in the second century. *K. Wâckidi*, 48.

There is a passage in Sura ii. (v. 179) which provides for the *sending* of victims to Mecca by those unable to perform the pilgrimage themselves; but this I take to be a much later passage—probably not earlier than A.H. VI., when Mahomet was hindered at Hodeibia from approaching Mecca.

‡ الصلاة جامعة *Common* Prayer. *K. Wackidi*, 47½.

§ Hishâmi says that he had actually given orders for a trumpet to be made, which was probable enough during his first relations with the Jews. Afterwards disliking the idea, he ordered a wooden bell or "gong" to be constructed; and it was already hewn out, when Abdallah's dream settled the question in favour of the *Adzân*. *Hishâmi*, p. 180.

was under discussion, Abdallah, a Khazrajite, dreamed that he met a man clad in green raiment carrying a bell.* Abdallah sought to buy it, saying that it would do well for bringing together the assembly of the faithful. "I will show thee," replied the stranger, "a better way than that; let a crier call aloud, GREAT IS THE LORD! GREAT IS THE LORD! *I bear witness that there is no God but the Lord: I bear witness that Mahomet is the Prophet of God. Come unto Prayer: Come unto Happiness. God is Great: God is Great! There is no God but the Lord!*" Awaking from sleep, Abdallah proceeded to Mahomet, and told him his dream. The Prophet perceived that it was a vision from on high, and forthwith commanded Bilâl, his negro servant, to carry out the Divine behest. Ascending the top of a lofty house beside the Mosque † while it was yet dark, Bilâl watched for the break of day; and on the first glimmer of light, with his far-sounding voice, he startled all around from their slumbers, adding to the divinely

* Hishâmi recites the story as if Abdallah had *actually* met the man. Some traditions add, that after Abdallah had told his dream to Mahomet, Omar came up and repeated a dream he too had had to the same effect; at which Mahomet marvelled, and praised the Lord for this double assurance.

† A woman of the Bani Najjâr, to whom the house belonged, used to relate this in after days. *Hishâmi*, 180. Burton states (but without mentioning the authority) that Bilâl used to stand "upon a part of the roof on one of the walls of the Mosque." ii. 100. For Bilâl, see above, vol. ii. pp. 107, 129.

appointed call,—"Prayer is better than Sleep! Prayer is better than Sleep!" Every day, at the five appointed times, the well-known cry summoned the people to their devotions. And the successors of Bilâl, from a myriad minarets, to this day follow his example.

Call used for convening a general assembly.

The old cry, "To public prayer," was still maintained whenever an assembly was summoned for the announcement of important intelligence, as that of a victory; or for the proclamation of a general order, as the going forth to war. The people hurried to the Mosque at the call, but it had no longer any connection with their devotions.*

The *Pulpit.*

On the spot where Mahomet used to stand in the Mosque at public prayers, the branch of a date-tree was planted as a post for him to hold by. When the Kibla was changed, the post was taken up from the northern end of the Mosque and fixed near the southern wall. In process of time Mahomet, now beyond the prime of life, began to feel fatigue at standing throughout the long Friday service. So he consulted with his followers; and one said, "Shall I make for thee a Pulpit such as I have seen them make in Syria?" The suggestion pleased Mahomet, both for the relief to himself, and the advantage of being better seen and heard at public worship. Accordingly one or two tamarisk-trees were felled at Al Ghâba, and fashioned into a Pulpit, having a place

* *K. Wâckidi*, 47½.

to sit on, and three steps leading up to it.* It was placed near the southern wall, on the spot which it continued to occupy, and which the Pulpit, or *Mimbar*, occupies at the present day.

Manner of the daily service:

Mahomet ascended the pulpit for the first time on a Friday. As he mounted, turning towards the Kaaba, he uttered a loud *Takbîr*, "Great is the Lord!" and the whole assembly from behind burst forth into the same exclamation. Then he bowed himself in prayer,† still standing in the pulpit with his face averted from the people; after which he descended, walking backwards, and at the foot of the pulpit prostrated himself‡ towards the Kaaba. This he did twice, and having ended the prayers, he turned to the congregation, and told them he had done this that they might know and imitate his manner of prayer.§ The fashion of the Friday

and of the Friday service.

---

* A tradition states that it was made by the *only* carpenter then in Medîna,—perhaps the only *skilful* one is meant. Another tradition (*K. Wâckidi*, 48) says that Abbâs, Mahomet's uncle, offered the services of his servant Kilâb, who was an excellent carpenter, and that Mahomet sent this man into the hills for the wood, &c. But Abbâs did not come to Medîna till about two years from Mahomet's death; and, although the date of the making of the Pulpit is nowhere (that I can find) given, it was evidently much earlier than that.

The wood of which the Pulpit was constructed is variously stated as اثلة , دوم , طرفا It was either Tamarisk, Lote (wild plum), or some sort of Yew.

† Literally performed a *Rakaat*.

‡ *Sijda*. § *K. Wâckidi*, 49.

Service is thus described.* As the Prophet mounted the steps of the pulpit he greeted the assembly with the Salutation of Peace. Then he sat down, and Bilâl sounded forth the call to prayer. After the prescribed prostrations and reciting of the Coran, he delivered two discourses, twice sitting down; and he would point with his fingers, enforcing his instructions: the people raised their faces towards him, listening attentively with their ears, and fixing their eyes upon him: when he ended, they joined in a universal *Amen.* As he discoursed he leant upon a staff.† His dress on these occasions was a mantle‡ of striped Yemen stuff, six cubits in length, thrown over his shoulders; the lower garment§ was a girdle of fine cloth from Omân, but of smaller dimensions than the other. These robes were worn only on Friday, and on the two great Festivals; at the conclusion of each service, they were folded up and put carefully away.

The Pulpit invested with extraordinary sanctity.

The Pulpit was invested by Mahomet with great sanctity. All oaths regarding disputed rights were to be taken close by it.‖ Any one who should swear falsely by it, "even if the subject of the oath

* *K. Wâckidi*, 48½.

† It was made of the شوحط, a mountain tree used for bows.

‡ برد § ازار

‖ Perhaps we may trace here an imitation of the Jewish practice of swearing by the Temple.

were as insignificant as a tooth-pick," was hopelessly condemned to Hell. The blessedness of the spot was shadowed forth by the saying of the Prophet that the space between his house and the Pulpit was "as one of the gardens of Paradise." Credulous tradition asserts that it is literally so; and the fond conceit has been perpetuated by a wretched endeavour to adorn the place with the painted figures of shrubs and flowers. "It is a space," says Burton, "of about eighty feet in length, tawdrily decorated, so as to resemble a garden. The carpets are flowered, and the pediments of the columns are cased with bright green tiles, and adorned to the height of a man with gaudy and unnatural vegetation in arabesque."*

The moaning post.

When Mahomet left the post by which he had so long prayed, he expressed his regret at parting with it in affectionate terms, and commanded it to be buried under the Pulpit. Traditionists have coloured this incident with the romantic addition that the post moaned loudly at its desertion, and

* *Burton*, ii. 68; *Burckhardt*, 337. Mahomet also said that his Pulpit was "over one of the Fountains of Paradise." Mahomet, no doubt, never intended any such saying literally. He extolled the virtues of the place because of its spiritual advantages;—as a church might be called "the gate of Heaven." The sanctity of the Pulpit was so great, that at times other than the public assembly, worshippers used to come, and catching the knob (رمان) of the Pulpit, pray, holding it with their hands. *K. Wâckidi*, 49.

would not cease until the Prophet placed his hand upon it, and soothed its grief.*

Death of Kolthûm, and of Asád ibn Zorâra.

During the first year of his residence at Medîna, Mahomet lost two of his chief adherents among the men of Medîna. Kolthûm, with whom he lodged on his arrival at Cobâ, died shortly after that visit. And the Mosque was hardly completed, when Asád, son of Zorâra, was seized with a virulent sore throat.† Asád was one of the earliest converts of Medîna. He belonged to the famous Six who first met Mahomet, three or four years before, at Mina.‡ He was elected the "Leader" of the Baṇi Najjâr, when they pledged their faith to the Prophet at the "second Acaba,"§ and had ever since taken a prominent part in spreading the faith. Musáb, the teacher sent from Mecca to instruct the inquirers at Medîna, lodged with him, and together they had openly established Mussulman prayers in

* Numerous traditions are given to that effect by the Secretary of Wâckidi. The people were terrified at the noise, for the groanings of the post were "like those of a she-camel ten months gone with young." On Mahomet stroking it with his hand, it ceased. It was then either buried under the Pulpit, or put away among the rafters of the roof. When the Mosque was taken down, Obey ibn Kab carried it to his house, where it was eaten up by white ants.

One tradition says that Mahomet *embraced* the post, and then it stopped moaning; on which the Prophet said, that "had he not done so, it would not have ceased to moan till the Day of Judgment."

† It is called شكّة (a thorn) ذبحة and شمعة.

‡ Vol. ii. 209. § *Ibid.* 237.

the city. His house was hard by the Mosque, where, it will be remembered, he welcomed Mahomet on his arrival, and took charge of his favourite camel. The Prophet was deeply grieved at his illness; but most of all, he was troubled by the insinuations of the Jews and the disaffected citizens, who said, "If this man be a prophet, can he not ward off sickness even from his friend?"—"And yet," said Mahomet, "I have no power from my Lord over even mine own life, or over that of any of my followers. The Lord destroy the Jews that speak thus!" He visited him frequently, and twice caused his neck to be cauterized all round. But the remedies were of no avail; he sank rapidly and died. Mahomet headed the funeral procession to the spot which had been selected for a burial-ground. It was a large enclosure, studded with thorny shrubs, without the city, on its eastern side.* Asád was the first of the illustrious band of early heroes who were buried in the cemetery of Backî, and whose tombs are still visited by the pilgrim.

Barrenness of the Moslem women after

For many months after the arrival of Mahomet, it so happened that no children were born to the

* It was called Backî al *Gharcad*, the latter word signifying the thorny tree which grew upon it.

The *Refugees*, wishing to claim the honour and glory of the first person buried there being of their own party, assign it to Othmân ibn Matzûn. But he did not die till the end of the *second* year of the Hegira.

See *K. Wâckidi*, 297½; *Hishâmi*, 180; *Tabari*, 220; *Burton*, ii. 300.

Moslem women; and the rumour began to spread abroad that their barrenness was occasioned by Jewish sorcery. More than a year of the Hegira had elapsed when the first infant was born to the Refugees,—the wife of Zobeir presenting him with a son; and shortly after, the same good fortune happened to Bishr, one of the Medîna citizens. These births, dispelling their apprehensions, caused great joy among the believers.* Mahomet's arrival.

It may possibly have been, as charms to counteract these supposed enchantments, that Mahomet composed one or other of the two short Suras now standing at the close of the Coran; though a later occasion, which will be hereafter mentioned, is assigned to them by tradition. One of the two last Suras possibly then revealed.

The Prophet was in many respects very superstitious. So afraid was he of darkness, that on entering a room at night, he would not sit down till a lamp had been lighted for him.† When cupped, he had the operation performed an *odd* number of times, Instances of Mahomet's superstition.

---

* *Tabari*, 224. Abdallah is said to have been born in Shawwâl, A.H. II. (February, 624), no less than *twenty* months after the Hegira; and Nomân, son of Bishr, four or five months later. Another tradition says that Bishr's son was born fourteen months after Mahomet's arrival. There may possibly have been some earlier births of infants who did not survive.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 74½. It is there added that he had such a repugnance to the form of the cross that he broke everything brought into his house with that figure upon it. This may, however, have been symbolical of his extreme aversion to the doctrine of the crucifixion.

believing that the virtue was greater than with an even number. He also fancied that cupping on any Tuesday which fell on the 17th of the month was peculiarly efficacious, and proved a remedy for all the disorders of the coming year.* If the heavens were overcast with heavy clouds, he would change colour and betray a mysterious apprehension till they cleared away. He was also superstitiously anxious about the effect of the winds. † Such traditions, which, from their number and agreement, must be more or less founded on fact, illustrate the weakness, nervous sensibility, and apprehension of unseen and supernatural influences for good and for evil, which affected the mind of Mahomet.

---

* *K. Wâckidi*, 86.

† I. *Mischât al Masâbîh*, vol. i. 336. "Ayesha said: 'When the wind blew, the Prophet would say,—"O Lord! verily I supplicate thee for good from this wind, and good from its nature, and good for that thing for which it is sent; and I seek protection with thee from the bad effects of this wind, and its baneful influence, and the harm which it was sent to do." And when clouds appeared, he used to change colour; and he would come out, go in, walk forwards and backwards; and when it rained, and passed away without doing harm, his alarm would cease.' This state of the Prophet's mind was well known to Ayesha; and she asked him the reason of it. He said,—'O Ayesha! peradventure these clouds and winds might be like those which are mentioned in the history of the tribe of Ad.* For when they saw a cloud overshadowing the heavens, they said,—*This is a cloud bringing rain for us;* but it was not so, but a punishment to them, in calling for it impatiently; and there was in it a destroying wind.'"

* See above, vol. i. p. cxxxviii.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

Hostilities between Medîna and Mecca.

A.H. I. & II.—A.D. 623.

Repose at Medîna for the first six months.

THE first six months of Mahomet's residence at Medîna were undisturbed either by alarms from without, or by hostile counsels at home. No vindictive measures were planned by the citizens of Mecca. He who had for more than ten years kept the city in continual excitement, broken up their old political parties, and introduced a new faction of his own, was now gone forth with all his adherents, and his absence afforded immediate relief. The current of events, long diverted and troubled by his designs, now returned, to flow peaceably, for a while, in its ancient channel.

Hostilities contemplated by Mahomet from the first;

The thoughts of Mahomet, indeed, from the day of his flight, were not thoughts of peace. He had threatened that condign vengeance should overtake the enemies of his Revelation,—a vengeance not postponed to a future life, but immediate and overwhelming even in the present world. He now occupied a position where he might become the agent for executing the divine justice, and at the same time might triumphantly impose the true religion on those who had rejected it. Hostility to the Coreish

lay as a seed germinating in his heart; it wanted only a favourable opportunity to spring up.

but deferred from motives of policy.

But the opportunity did not at once present itself. The people of Medîna were pledged only to defend the Prophet from attack, not to join him in any aggressive steps against the Coreish.* He must take time to gain their affections, and to secure their hearty co-operation in offensive measures against his enemies. His followers from Mecca were too few to measure arms with the Coreish. They were also, like himself, at present occupied in providing dwelling-places for their families. In fulfilling this domestic obligation, in establishing friendly relations with the citizens of Medîna and the Jewish tribes, in organizing civil and religious institutions for his followers, now fast assuming the position of an independent society, and in riveting the hold of his theocratic government upon their minds, the autumn of the first year passed away.

June to Nov. A.D. 622.

Expeditions against Coreishite caravans, by Hamza:

The earliest indications of hostility against the Coreish were of a petty and marauding character. In Ramadhân, seven months after his arrival, Mahomet despatched his uncle Hamza, at the head of thirty Refugees, to surprise a Meccan caravan returning from Syria under the guidance of Abu Jahl. This caravan, guarded

Dec. A.D. 622.

* "Mahomet did not send the Medîna converts on any hostile expedition against the Coreish, until they had warred with him at Badr; and the reason is that they had pledged themselves to protect him only *at their homes*." *K. Wâckidi*, 48.

by some 300 of the Coreish, was overtaken near the sea-shore, between Mecca and Medîna, in the territory of the Bani Joheina. A chief of that tribe, being a confederate of both, interposed between the two parties, who were already drawn up prepared for an encounter. Hamza retired to Medîna, and Abu Jahl proceeded onwards to Mecca.*

Obeida ibn al Hârith. Shawwâl A.H. I. Jan. A.D. 623.

About a month later, a party double the strength of the first, was sent under command of Obeida, son of Hârith,† in pursuit of another caravan protected by Abu Sofiân with 200 men. The Coreish were surprised while their camels were grazing by a fountain in the valley of Râbigh ;‡ but beyond the discharge of arrows from a distance, no hostilities were attempted. Obeida is distinguished in tradition as "he who shot the

* *K. Wâckidi*, 98; *Hishâmi*, 207; *Tabari*, 225. There is, as usual, much rivalry as to which of the expeditions has the honour of being the *first;* and who was the first to have a banner presented to him by Mahomet. Some traditions give the preference to Obeida; others say that Obeida and Hamza were simultaneously despatched; others, again, make both expeditions to follow that of Mahomet himself to Abwa in the following June, and hold that, during the first twelve months after Mahomet's arrival, there was no expedition despatched from Medîna. In the Chronology of the Campaigns I have uniformly followed the Secretary of Wâckidi. See also pp. 2–7 of the History of *Muhammad's Campaigns*, by Wâckidi, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under the editorship of M. A. Von Kremer: Calcutta, 1856. I shall quote this valuable work simply as *Wâckidi.*

† He was a cousin of Mahomet. See Table, vol. i. p. cclxx.—Hârith having been the prophet's uncle.

‡ One of the stages on the road to Mecca.

first arrow for Islâm." Two followers of Mahomet, who were with the Coreishite convoy, fled from it and joined the party of Obeida.*

and Sád, son of Abu Wackkâs.

After the lapse of another month, a third expedition started, under the youthful Sád,† with twenty followers, in the same direction. He was desired to proceed as far as Kharrâr, a valley on the road to Mecca, and to lie in wait for a caravan expected to pass that way. Like most of the subsequent marauding parties intended to effect a surprise, they marched by night and lay in concealment during the day. Notwithstanding this precaution, when they reached their destination on the fifth morning, they found that the caravan had passed a day before, and they returned empty-handed to Medîna.‡

A standard presented by Mahomet to each Leader.

These excursions occurred in the winter and spring of the year 623 A.D. On each occasion, Mahomet mounted a white banner on a staff or lance, and presented it to the leader, on his departure. The names of those who carried the standard, as well as the names of the leaders, are carefully recorded in tradition in these and in all other expeditions of importance.

---

* Wâckidi does not mention this latter circumstance, only Hishâmi. The names of the deserters are Micdâd and Otba, both of Coreishite blood. Micdâd carried the standard in the next expedition under Sád. *Wâckidi*, 2; *K. Wâckidi*, 98½; *Hishâmi*, 207; *Tabari*, 226.

† See vol. ii. p. 103. He was now only from twenty to twenty-five years of age.

‡ *Wâckidi*, and *K. Wâckidi*, as before; *Hishâmi*, 209.

In the summer and autumn of the same year, Mahomet led in person three somewhat larger, though equally unsuccessful parties. The first set out in Safar, nearly twelve months after his arrival, and was directed to Abwâ, the spot where his mother lay buried,* in pursuit of a Coreishite caravan. The prey was missed; but something was gained in a friendly treaty concluded with the Bani Dhamra, a tribe connected with Mecca. The treaty was committed to writing, and was the first that Mahomet entered into with any foreign tribe.† He returned, after fifteen days' absence, to Medîna.

Three expeditions conducted by Mahomet himself;—

June, A.D. 623.

Abwâ:

In the succeeding month, the Prophet again marched, at the head of 200 followers, including some of the citizens of Medîna,‡ to Bowât, a place

Bowât: 1 Rabi A.H. I. July, A.D. 623.

---

* Vol. i. 27. The expedition is also said by some to have been directed to Waddân, which Wâckidi states to be six Arabian miles from Abwâ.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 98½. The provisions are noted only generally:—"that neither party would levy war against the other, nor help their enemies." The version quoted by Weil, binding the Bani Dhamra to fight *for the Faith*, &c. is evidently anticipatory and apocryphal. It is not given by the Secretary of Wâckidi in his Chapter of Treaties. The Bani Dhamra was a tribe descended from Kinâna. See Table, vol. i. p. cxcv.; *Hishâmi*, 206; *Tabari*, 227; *Wâckidi*, 7. The latter mentions the Treaty as entered into at Bowât, *i.e.* in the *next* expedition.

‡ This shows Mahomet's advancing influence over the citizens. There must have been many of them in this expedition, as the Refugees, who were nearly all present at Badr five or six months after, numbered then only 83.

on the caravan route four stages south-west of Medîna.* A rich burden, laden on 2,500 camels, under the escort of Omeya ibn Khalf,† with 100 armed men, was to proceed by that road. But it eluded pursuit, and passed on in safety. Shortly after their return, some of the camels and flocks of Medîna, while feeding in a plain a few miles from the city,‡ were fallen upon by Kurz ibn Jâbir, a marauding chieftain, and carried off. Mahomet pursued him nearly to Badr, but he made good his escape.§

(Kurz ibn Jâbir commits a raid near Medîna.)

and *Osheira.* 2nd Jumâd, A.H. I. Oct. 623, A.D.

Two or three months elapsed before Mahomet set out on his third expedition. Volunteers were invited, and from 150 to 200 followers joined the party. They had between them only thirty camels, which they rode upon by turns. At Osheira, distant nine stages in the direction of Yenbo, they expected to waylay another rich caravan which Abu Sofiân was conducting towards Syria, and of

* It is described as in the territory of the Joheina, in the vicinity of the hill Radhwâ, near Dzu Khusheib. For that hill, see *Burton*, i. 328, 358. It is one day's journey from Yenbo.

† He was one of the chief opponents of Mahomet, and persecutor of Bilâl. He was killed at Badr.

‡ Near Al Jamma, a hill about three Arabian miles from the city, by the valley Ackîck, towards Jorf. *K. Wâckidi*, 99; *Tabari*, 232.

§ To *Safwân*, a valley near Badr. Kurz was a Fihrite, *i.e.* of Coreishite stock; and was probably one of the Tzowâhir, or Coreish of the desert: vol. i. p. ccii. He must have been converted shortly after to Islam, as we find him (A.H. VI.) heading a Moslem expedition against an inroad of the Urnee banditti, very similar to his own. *K. Wâckidi*, 118.

the departure of which from Mecca tidings had been received. But it had passed before they reached the spot. It was the same caravan which, on its return from Syria, gave occasion to the famous action of Badr.

Mahomet concludes an alliance with two tribes.

In this excursion, the Prophet entered into an alliance with the Bani Mudlij—a tribe inhabiting the vicinity of Osheira—and with certain of the Bani Dhamra, their adherents. He was thus gradually extending his political connections.*

Mahomet calls Ali, Abu Torâb.

An instance of the pleasantry in which the Prophet sometimes indulged, is here recorded. Ali had fallen asleep on the dusty ground, in the shade of a palm grove. Mahomet espied him lying thus, all soiled with the dust; and, pushing him with his foot, called out, "Ho! Abu Torab! (*Father of the Dust!*) is it thou? Abu Torab, sit up!" Ali, half-ashamed, sat up; and the sobriquet ever after clung to him.†

His standard-bearers.

On each of these expeditions, Mahomet appointed a standard-bearer to carry his white banner. Hamza, Sád, and Ali had successively this honour.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 99; *Wâckidi*, 3; *Hishâmi*, 208. The Bani Mudlij are a tribe of the B. Kinâna, connected with the Coreish. *Weil*, 97. The B. Dhamra were probably another branch or offshoot of the tribe of that name notified just before, p. 67.

† Hishâmi and Tabari add that on this occasion Mahomet prophesied to Ali the manner in which he would be assassinated. Tabari adds a different tradition,—that Ali had been rolling on the dusty floor of the great Mosque at Medîna, after coming out of Fâtima's house, when he got this name:—Weil says, after a quarrel with her. Mohammad, p. 97, note 128.

Representatives left at Medîna during his absence.

Whenever the Prophet left Medîna to proceed to a distance, he named a representative to exercise authority over those who were left behind, and to lead the public prayers during his absence. The first person selected for the office was one of the twelve "Leaders," Sád ibn Obâda, of the Khazraj tribe. The next who received this token of confidence was Sád ibn Muâdz, of the Bani Aus;* so carefully was Mahomet minded to distribute his favours between these two jealous tribes. On the third occasion, his friend Zeid was honoured with the post.

Affair of Nakhla. Rajab A.H. II. Nov. A.D. 623.

In November and December, Mahomet did not himself quit Medîna; but he sent forth Abdallah ibn Jahsh,† with seven other Refugees,‡ on an expedition which was attended with more serious results than any of the preceding. As he bade farewell to Abdallah, the Prophet placed in his hands a closed packet of instructions, and charged him not to open it till he entered the valley of Mallal, two days' march on the road to Mecca. On reaching

* In illustration of this man's influence, see vol. ii. 219, note.

† He was a maternal cousin of Mahomet: vol. ii. 110. Obeida ibn al Hârith (leader in the former expedition to Râbigh) was the person first nominated to the command; but he wept at the prospect of again leaving Mahomet, who thereupon appointed Abdallah in his place. *Wâckidi*, 8. Tabari (240) tells the same story of *Obeida ibn al Jarrâh*—apparently a mistake.

‡ The names are Abu Hodzeifa (v. ii. 110), Amir ibn Rabia, Wackid, Okkâsha, Khâlid son of Al Bokeir (ii. 119), Sâd son of Abu Wackkâs (ii. 103), and Otba ibn Ghazwân. *Wâckidi*, ii. There are variations; some give as many as twelve or thirteen names.

the appointed spot, Abdallah broke open the letter, and read it aloud to his comrades in these terms:—*Go forward to Nakhla, in the name of the Lord, and with his blessing! Yet force not any of thy followers against his inclination. Proceed with those that accompany thee willingly. And when thou hast arrived at the valley of Nakhla, there lie in wait for the caravans of the Coreish.** Nakhla is a valley to the east of Mecca, about half-way to Tayif;† and the mercantile traffic with the south all passed that way. Watched and pursued in their commerce with Syria, that towards the south would be more securely and more busily prosecuted by the people of Mecca; for the route lay far removed from the vicinity of their enemy. Mahomet had, no doubt, intimation that some rich ventures, lightly guarded, were shortly expected at Mecca by this route; and by his sealed instructions, he effectually provided against intelligence and alarm being conveyed to the Coreish.

* A literal translation from Wâckidi, p. 8. His Secretary, whose account of this affair is curt and unsatisfactory, omits the letter altogether. Hishâmi and Tabari, following Ibn Ishâc, insert at the close of the order this clause:—"and bring me intelligence of their affairs." Weil (p. 99) has ably shown this to be a spurious addition. Besides being quite out of place, it does not agree with the speech of Abdallah (as given by the same authorities) on opening the letter, viz.:—"Let anyone that coveteth martyrdom come on with me." This speech itself is equally spurious, for the idea of *martyrdom* in battle did not spring up till after Badr. The addition is also inconsistent with the council of war held by Abdallah just before he attacked the caravan.

† See its position, vol. ii. 203, note.

One of the Coreish killed, and the caravan, with two of the escort, carried off.

Having read the order, Abdallah told his comrades that any who wished was at liberty to go back:—"As for myself," he added, "I will go forward and fulfil the command of the Prophet." All joined in the same determination, and proceeded onwards. Two of them fell behind in search of their camel, which had strayed, and lost the party.* The remaining six, having reached Nakhla, waited there. In a short time a caravan laden with wine, raisins, and leather, came up. It was guarded by four Coreishites, who, seeing the strangers, were alarmed, and halted. To disarm their apprehensions, one of Abdallah's party shaved his head, in token that they were returning from the lesser pilgrimage; for this was one of the months in which that ceremony was ordinarily performed.† The men of the caravan were at once reassured, and turning their camels adrift to pasture, began to prepare food for themselves. Meanwhile, Abdallah and his comrades debated the propriety of an attack during the sacred month of Rajab;‡ and thus they spoke one to another: "If we should defer the attack this night, they will surely move off, and entering the holy territory, escape us; but if we should fight against

* By some accounts they took advantage of the option given by Mahomet to go back, and turned aside from Bahrân of the Bani Suleim. *Wâckidi*, p. 8. The going astray of their camel may have been invented to cover what in after days appeared a discreditable lukewarmness.

† Vol. i. ccv. ‡ *Ibid.* ccvi.

them now, it is unlawful, for we shall be transgressing the sacred month." At last, they overcame their scruples. Wâckid, one of their number, advanced; and discharging an arrow, killed a man of the convoy, Amr ibn al Hadhrami, on the spot. All then rushed upon the caravan, and securing two of the Coreish, Othmân and Al Hakam, led them off prisoners, with the spoil, to Medîna. Nowfal, the brother of Othmân, leaped on his horse and escaped to Mecca; but too late to give the alarm for a pursuit.

Mahomet at first disclaims the responsibility of the attack:

On Abdallah reaching Medîna he acquainted Mahomet with all that had passed. The Prophet, who had probably not expected the party to reach Nakhla till after the close of Rajab, appeared displeased, and said:—"I never commanded thee to fight in the sacred month." So he put the booty aside, pending further orders, and kept the prisoners in bonds. Abdallah and his comrades were ashamed and grieved; the people also reproached them with what they had done. But Mahomet was unwilling to discourage his followers; and, shortly after, a revelation was given forth, justifying hostilities during the sacred month for the propagation of the faith, as a lesser evil than Idolatry and opposition to the religion of Islam:—

Then promulgates a Revelation approving it.

"They will ask thee concerning the Sacred Months, whether they may war therein. SAY:—Warring therein is grievous; but to obstruct the way of God, and to deny him, and hinder men from the Holy Temple, and expel his people from thence, is more

grievous with God. Tempting (to Idolatry) is more grievous than killing. They will not leave off to fight against you until they turn you from your faith, if that were in their power; but whosoever amongst you shall turn back from his faith and die an Unbeliever, —verily their Works are rendered of no effect in this Life and in the next. These are the Dwellers in Hell,—for ever therein. But they that believe, and they who emigrate for the sake of their faith, and strive earnestly * in the way of God,—let them hope in the mercy of God: for God is forgiving and merciful." †

After promulgating this verse, Mahomet gave over the booty to the captors, who, after presenting a fifth of it to Mahomet, divided the remainder among themselves. ‡

Prisoners ransomed.

The relatives of the two prisoners now sent a deputation from Mecca for their ransom. Sád and Otba, who wandered from Abdallah's party, had

* The word (*Jihâd*) is the same as that subsequently used for a religious war; but it had not yet probably acquired its fixed application. It was employed in its *general* sense before the Hegira, and probably up to the battle of Badr.

† *Sura*, ii. 217. The passage follows immediately after a command to war against the infidels; and it contains a reference to the Meccans *fighting*, while as yet they had hardly fought at all. I should therefore have placed this verse after the battle of Badr, had it not been for reasons given in a note following. Either the story is altogether untrue, that Mahomet placed an interdict on the booty till this verse was revealed (which is possible), or the verse was given out at the time indicated in the text. The latter part of the verse is said to have been revealed in favour of Abdallah and his comrades, who earnestly coveted a spiritual reward.

‡ Abdallah's descendants make much of this act, as an anticipation on his part of the Divine command for setting apart a fifth for the Prophet. Others say that the booty was not divided till after the battle of Badr, *i.e.* till the order had issued that a fifth of the spoil was always to be reserved for the Prophet. The proportion set aside for an Arab chief used previously to be a *fourth*. *Wâckidi*, 10. See also vol. i. ccxxi. *note*.

not yet returned. Mahomet was apprehensive for their safety, and refused to ransom the captives till he was assured that no foul play had been used towards them:—"If ye have killed my two men," he said, "verily, I will put yours also to death." But, soon after, they made their appearance, and Mahomet accepted the proffered ransom,—forty ounces of silver for each.* Al Hakam, however, continued at Medîna, and embraced Islam.†

Importance of this expedition.

The Arabian writers rightly attach much importance to this expedition. "This was," says Ibn Hishâm, "the first booty that the Mussulmans obtained; the first captives they seized; the first life they took." Abdallah is said to have been called in this expedition *Amîr al Mominîn*,—an appellation—"Commander of the Faithful"—assumed in after days by the Caliphs.‡

* The silver *owckea*, or ounce, is said to have been equal to forty dirhems.

† He was one of those killed at Bîr Mâûna, A.H. IV. He was a Maula, or freed-man, of Hishâm ibn al Moghîra (Othmân and Nowfal were grandsons of Mughîra, to whose family the caravan would seem to have belonged). The sudden conversion of Hakam is remarkable, and might throw suspicion of collusion on him.

‡ I have given what appears the most consistent narrative of this expedition; but there are some difficulties and discrepancies: *First,—as to the period of the expedition:* Some say it was undertaken at the close of the 2nd Jumâd (October) and *beginning* of Rajab; hence Abdallah is represented as addressing Mahomet on his return: "We attacked the party by day, and in the evening we saw the new moon of Rajab, and we know not whether we attacked them in Rajab or on the last day of the 2nd Jumâd." *Wâckidi*, 8. This, however, originates evidently in the desire

Growing hostility of Mahomet and

It was now a year and a half since Mahomet and his followers had taken refuge in Medîna. Their

to remove the scandal of the treacherous attack having been made during the sacred month. The expedition is almost always spoken of as having been undertaken in Rajab, and was evidently despatched from Medîna near the close of that month and the beginning of the next (Shabân, or December).

Second,—as to the period of the distribution of the booty and ransom of the prisoners:—According to some accounts the interdict was continued upon the booty until after the battle of Badr, when Mahomet (being now strong enough to defy public opinion at Mecca on the subject) promulgated the passage justifying the transaction, and the distribution of the spoil. The terms of that passage, as I remarked above, might justify this view; but then the like argument would apply to the ransoming of the prisoners, which would have been equally unlawful as the appropriation of the booty. Yet the prisoners were clearly ransomed shortly after the return of the expedition (since Sád and Otba had not come back when the deputation arrived from Mecca), and not after Badr, *i.e.* two months later. If, indeed, we could imagine that the deputation retired to Mecca, *re infectâ*, and that a second party came to ransom the prisoners after Badr, then it might be held that both prisoners and booty were kept in abeyance till that time, when the revelation was promulgated; but this seems inconsistent with the natural tenor of the narrative.

It is still a possible explanation that Mahomet (not questioning what had been done) distributed the spoil, and accepted ransom for the prisoners *at once;* and, subsequently, perceiving the great scandal he had occasioned by countenancing a violation of the sacred month, produced after Badr the revelation sanctioning it. But this, though not otherwise unlikely, runs counter to tradition; and, on the whole, I prefer the narrative as I have given it in the text.

As a proof how anxious the Moslems are to relieve their Prophet from the stigma of sanctioning this irreligious attack, I may note that Zohri and Orwa hold that Mahomet first disallowed the transaction altogether, and paid blood-money (dîyat) for the slain man Amr; but Wâckidi (p. 9) decides that this was not the case. *K. Wâckidi*, 99; *Wâckidi*, 8; *Hishâmi*, 209; *Tabari*, 234.

attitude towards Mecca was becoming daily more hostile. Latterly, no opportunity had been lost of threatening the numerous caravans which passed through the Hejâz. On the regular and uninterrupted march of these to Syria, the prosperity of Mecca entirely depended; for the traffic with Yemen and Abyssinia was of a subordinate character. Even towards Yemen and Tayif it now appeared, from the last attack, that their enemy would allow them no security. This attack had also shown them that Mahomet and his followers would respect neither life nor the universally admitted inviolability of the sacred months. Blood had been shed, foully and sacrilegiously, and was yet unavenged.

His followers towards their countrymen.

Still there was no hostile response from Mecca. Though followers of the Prophet were known to be there, no cruelties were perpetrated on them, or reprisals attempted by the Coreish. But the breach was widening—the enmity becoming deeper seated: blood could be washed out by blood alone.

Forbearance of the Coreish.

At Medîna, on the other hand, the prospect of a mortal conflict with their enemies was steadily contemplated, and openly spoken of by Mahomet and his adherents. At what period the Divine command to fight against the Unbelievers of Mecca was promulgated, it is, perhaps, impossible to determine. The repeated attack of the caravans had been gradually paving the way for it; and when given forth, it was probably no more than an embodiment of the earnest desire of Mahomet and his

Divine command to fight against the Coreish.

followers for revenge, and of the people of Medîna generally for the plunder of the rich merchandise which passed to and fro in tempting proximity to their city. The following are the earliest passages on the subject:—

"Bear good tidings unto the Righteous. Truly the Lord will keep back the Enemy from those who believe, for God loveth not the perfidious Unbeliever. Permission is granted unto those who take up arms for that they have been injuriously entreated; and verily the Lord is Mighty for the assistance of those who have been driven from their homes without just cause,—for no other reason than that they said, *God is our Lord.* And truly if it were not that God holdeth back mankind, one part of them by means of another part, Monasteries, and Churches, and Places of prayer and of worship,* wherein the name of the Lord is frequently commemorated, would be demolished. And God will surely assist them that assist him. For God is Mighty and Glorious." †

"And fight in the way of God with them that fight against you: but transgress not, for God loveth not the transgressors. Kill them wheresoever ye find them; and expel them from that out of which they have expelled you: for temptation (to idolatry) is more grievous than killing. Yet fight not against them beside the Holy Temple, until they fight with you thereat. * * * *

"Fight, therefore, until there be no temptation (to idolatry), and the Religion be God's. And if they leave off, then let there be no hostility, excepting against the Oppressors."‡

"War is ordained for you, even though it be irksome unto you. Perchance ye dislike that which is good for you, and love that which is evil for you. But God knoweth, and ye know not."

---

* *i.e.* Synagogues and Mosques.

† *Sura*, xxii. 41, 42. It is for the most part a Meccan Sura; but this passage was probably inserted in it after Mahomet's arrival at Medîna. Vol. ii. 266, *note.*

‡ *Sura*, ii. 191–194.

Thus war, upon grounds professedly religious, was established as an ordinance of Islam. Hostilities, indeed, were justified by the "expulsion" of the believers from Mecca. But the main and true issue of the warfare was not disguised to be the victory of Islam. They were to fight "*until the religion became the Lord's alone.*" Fighting prescribed on religious grounds.

Although the general bearing of the Believers was, like that of their Prophet, defiant and daring, yet there were also timorous men amongst them, who needed reproof and encouragement. They were thus addressed:— The fearful reproved.

"The Believers say,—*If a Sura were revealed* (*commanding war, we would fight*); and now when a plain Sura is revealed, and fighting is mentioned therein, thou seest those in whose heart is an infirmity, looking towards thee with the look of one overshadowed with death. But Obedience had been better for them, and propriety of speech. Wherefore, when the command is established, if they give credit unto God, it shall be better for them."*

For those that fall in battle, Paradise is guaranteed:— Paradise promised to the slain.

"They who have gone into Exile for the cause of God, and then have been slain, or have died, WE shall certainly nourish these with an excellent provision: For God is the best Provider. He will surely grant unto them an Entrance such as they will approve: For God is Knowing and Gracious."

Yet the Believer was not to imagine the success of Islam as dependent on his feeble efforts. God could accomplish the work equally well without The cause not dependent on their efforts.

* *Sura*, xlvii. 21.

him. Thus after the fierce exhortation to "strike off the heads of the Unbelievers, to make great slaughter amongst them, and bind them fast in bonds," the Prophet adds:—

"This do. If the Lord willed, he could surely himself take vengeance on them: but (He hath ordained fighting for the Faith) in order that he may prove some of you by others. They that are killed in the way of God, He will not suffer their works to perish. He will guide them, and dispose their hearts aright. He will lead them into the Paradise whereof he hath told them." *

Believers to contribute towards expenditure.

Furthermore, the true Believer was expected not only to fight: he was to contribute of his substance towards the expenses of the war:—

"What hath befallen you that ye contribute not (of your substance) in the cause of God? and to God belongeth the inheritance of the Heavens and of the Earth. Those of you that contribute before the victory,† and fight, shall not be placed on the same level, but shall have a rank superior over those who contribute after it and fight.‡ Who is he that lendeth unto the Lord a goodly loan? He shall double the same, and he shall have an honourable recompense."‡

"He doth not ask you for (all) your substance. Had he asked you for (the whole of) it, and importunately pressed you, ye had become grudging, and it had stirred up your ill-will. But ye are they who are called on to contribute a part of the same in the

* *Sura*, xlvii. 5-7.

† *Al Fath;* the "decision" of God against the idolators, and in favour of Islam, *i.e.* the victory of the latter. The term came subsequently to be applied *par excellence* to the taking of Mecca—the great crisis, prior to which alone there was a peculiar merit in fighting for and supporting Islam. The commentators construe the word in this meaning; but the idea in Mahomet's mind at that moment had no such distinct anticipative sense.

‡ Here is introduced this verse:—"But to *all* God hath promised an excellent reward:" introduced probably at a later period to soothe the minds of those who came over then.

cause of God, and there be some of you that grudge; but whoever grudgeth, he verily grudgeth against his own soul. God needeth nothing, but ye are needy. If ye turn back, he will substitute in your room a people other than you, and they shall not be like unto you."

And somewhat later:—

"Prepare against them what force ye can, of your ability, and troops of horse, that ye may thereby strike terror into the enemy of God and your enemy, and into others besides them; ye know them not, but God knoweth them. And what thing soever ye contribute in the cause of God, it shall be made good unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly."

These commands addressed to the citizens of Medîna also:

These passages were all promulgated within two or three years after Mahomet's arrival in Medîna. They are no longer addressed to the Refugees only, but to the men of Medîna also.

The campaign of *Badr* the first occasion on which they joined in large numbers.

The first occasion on which the citizens of Medîna came forward in any considerable number to the aid of Mahomet, was on the field of Badr;— and there, probably, more from the anticipation of sharing in the spoils of a richly-laden caravan, than with any idea of fighting for the Faith, or of revenging the wrongs of the Moslems. The result was, nevertheless, equally important to Mahomet.

But the battle of Badr, deserving separate notice, will be reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

The Battle of Badr.

Ramadhân, A.H. II.—*January*, 624 A.D.

Great detail with which the biographers relate the campaign of Badr.

WITH the battle of Badr opens a new era in Islam. The Biographers of Mahomet have shown their appreciation of the influence which it exercised on his future fortunes, by the disproportionate space allotted to this chapter of their story. The minutest circumstances, and most trifling details, even to the names of those engaged, have been carefully treasured up.* From the vast mass of tradition thus rudely thrown together, it will be my endeavour to draw forth all the important points, and frame from them a consistent narrative.

Scouts sent by Mahomet for intelligence of Abu Sofiân's approach.

The caravan of Abu Sofiân, which, on its passage through the Hejâz, had escaped the pursuit of Mahomet in the autumn, was now, after the lapse of about three months, returning to Mecca. Mahomet was resolved that it should not this time elude

* A glance at the printed edition of Wâckidi's Campaigns, referred to above, will show this. No less than 161 pages are allotted to the campaign. The only other battle which approaches it in interest is that of Ohod, to which 128 pages are devoted.

his grasp. In the beginning of January, 624 A.D. he despatched two scouts to Haura, on the sea-shore west of Medîna,* to bring early intelligence of the approach of Abu Sofiân. They were hospitably lodged and concealed by an aged chief of the Joheina tribe, whose family was rewarded for this service by the grant of Yenbo. No sooner did the caravan appear than they hastened back to apprise Mahomet.

Abu Sofiân, warned of Mahomet's intentions, sends to Mecca for succour.

The Prophet had not yet learned to mask his projected campaigns. His intention of attacking the caravan was noised abroad. The rumour reached Abu Sofiân while yet on the confines of Syria. He was warned, perhaps by the treachery of some disaffected citizen, to be on his guard, as Mahomet had entered into confederacy with the tribes by the way to surprise the caravan. The party was greatly alarmed. Abu Sofiân forthwith despatched to Mecca a messenger, named Dhamdham, to bid the Coreish hasten with an army to his rescue. The caravan then moved rapidly, yet with caution, along the route which lay closest to the shore of the Red Sea.

Mahomet gives command for the campaign;

Mahomet, becoming impatient, and apprehensive lest the caravan should, as on previous occasions, be beforehand with him, resolved not to wait for the return of his spies. So he called upon his followers at once to make ready:—"Here," said he, "is a

* The spot is called Nakhbâr, beyond Dzul Marwa, and the caravan could not avoid passing it. Dzul Marwa is three days' journey from Medîna, on the Syrian track. The scouts were Talha and Saîd ibn Zeid, both Refugees.

caravan of the Coreish in which they have embarked much wealth. Come! perchance the Lord will enrich you with the same." The love of booty and of adventure, so passionate in the Arab, induced not only all the Refugees, but a large body of the citizens also, to respond with alacrity to his call.* Of the former, Othmân alone remained be-

* The biographers are inconsistent in the double motive they assign to those who went to Badr. They unanimously reiterate that the smallness of Mahomet's army was caused by its going forth solely in the hope of surprising the caravan, and obtaining plunder, and that the people did not anticipate a battle. On Mahomet's return from Badr, the Moslem citizens came forward with this just excuse, and it was accepted. Nothing is more clear than that neither Mahomet nor his followers expected the advance of an army from Mecca.

On the other hand, tradition exhibits the utmost anxiety and rivalry as pervading all ranks to set out on the expedition, with the view of sharing in its merit, and *meeting the chance of Martyrdom.* Thus Sád, one of the leaders, is represented to have cast lots with Khaithama, his father, which should accompany the army (as one of them had to stay behind with the family); saying, "Had anything else than Paradise been at stake, I should have given way to thee; but now verily I hope for martyrdom in this expedition." The lot fell upon him, and he went forth and was slain at Badr. *Wâckidi*, 12. So likewise Omeir, a boy of sixteen years, tried to hide from Mahomet when reviewing his force at the first stage, as he dreaded that he would be sent back on account of his youth:—"I fear," said he, weeping, "that I shall be noticed, and rejected: but truly I yearn to go, that the Lord may grant to me the reward of Paradise." He too was killed. *Wâckidi*, 14; *K. Wâckidi*, 275. These stories are evidently apocryphal, cast in the mould which became universal in later days, and blindly applied by a glaring anachronism to the present occasion.

Similar is the tradition that Sád ibn Obâda was so occupied in stirring up the people of Medîna to go forth, that he himself

hind to tend the sick bed of Rockeya, the Prophet's daughter.

On Sunday, the 12th of Ramadhân,* January, 8th. 623, A.D. and marches from Medîna.

was left behind, and that his claim was on this account admitted to a share in the booty. *Wâckidi*, 110.

The true motive which prompted most of Mahomet's followers to accompany the force, and which tempted many to join Islam, is well illustrated by the following anecdote, which bears the stamp at least of verisimilitude. Two citizens of Medîna, still heathens, were noticed by Mahomet among the troops. He called them near his camel, and asked them what had brought them there. "Thou art our kinsman," they replied, "to whom our city hath given protection; and we go forth with our people in the hope of plunder." "None shall go forth with me," said Mahomet, "but he who is of our Faith." They tried to pass, saying, that they were great warriors, and would fight bravely by his side, requiring nothing beyond their share of the plunder; but Mahomet was firm. "Ye shall not go thus. *Believe, and then fight!*" Seeing no alternative they "believed," and confessed that Mahomet was the Prophet of God. Rejoiced at their conversion, Mahomet said,—"Now go forth and fight!" Then they accompanied the army, and became noted spoilers both at Badr and in other expeditions. *Wâckidi*, 40. So also on Mahomet's return to Medîna, Abdallah ibn Nabtal exclaimed,—"Would that I had gone forth with the Prophet! Then I had surely secured large booty!"

Eight persons who remained behind are popularly counted in the number of the veterans of Badr—the nobility of Islam; *three* Refugees, viz.-Othmân and the two spies; and *five* citizens, viz. the two left in command of Upper and Lower Medîna, a man sent back with a message to the Bani Amr, and two men, who having received a hurt at Rooha, were left behind. The names of the famous Three hundred and five were recorded in a Register at Medîna, called *Sadr al Kitâb*. *Wâckidi*, 153.

* M. C. de Perceval says, on the eighth, that is, nine days before the battle; but for this I find no good authority. The action, according to most authorities, took place on the 17th Ramadhân, and on a Friday. According to M. C. de Perceval's calculations,

Mahomet set out upon his march, leaving Abu Lubâba, one of the citizens, in charge of Medîna. For some special reason not fully explained, he appointed another of his followers over Coba and Upper Medîna.* At a short distance from the city on the Meccan road, he halted to review his little army, and to send back the striplings unfit for action. The number that remained, and with which he proceeded onwards, was three hundred and five. Of these, eighty were Refugees; of the remainder, about one fourth belonged to the Bani Aus, and the rest to the Bani Khazraj. They had but two horses; and there were seventy camels, on which by turns they mounted.†

---

the 17th fell on Saturday the 14th January; he accordingly alters the date of the battle to the 16th Ramadhân. I prefer adhering to the general testimony of tradition, and therefore to the 17th; the difference being accounted for by some variation in the day on which the new moon was seen at Medîna. Tabari gives as other dates the 19th and 21st Ramadhân; but in regard to the 17th, he adds, that it was so notoriously the day of Badr that even the women, who kept to their houses, knew it.—p. 246. There are traditions, but not trustworthy ones, for Monday. *K. Wâckidi*, 102½. None that I have met with, for Saturday.

* It is said that he did this because "he heard something" regarding the Bani Amr ibn Auf. He also sent back Al Hârith from his camp with a message to the same tribe. *K. Wâckidi*, 99½, 271. The two persons left in charge, as well as this messenger, all belonged to the Bani Aus.

† There is considerable variation as to the exact number; Ibn Ishâc makes it 314, or, if we deduct the eight absentees who had the merit of being present, 306. Abu Mashar and Wâckidi give 313, or, actually present, 305. Wâckidi gives the Refugees at 85

Spies sent forward by Mahomet to Badr.

For two days they travelled by the road to Mecca. At Safra, thirty-four hours' journey from Medîna, the road branches in two directions; the left branch leads to Mecca, falling, after about two days' march, into the caravan track by the sea-shore; the branch to the right runs westward in the direction of Yenbo, and at the distance of about fifteen hours' journey, also meets the great Syrian road, but much farther to the north. The latter point of junction is at Badr, a halting-place at the present day on the pilgrim route from Syria to Mecca. It was used for the same purpose by the caravans from the earliest times, and a fair was also held there. Before reaching Safra, Mahomet despatched two spies to find out whether any preparations were making for the reception of Abu Sofiân at Badr;* for it was there that he hoped to waylay the caravan. At the fountain of Badr, the spies over-

(but in another place at only 74); Ibn Ishâc, at 83; of these, three (as explained above) were absent. Ibn Ishâc calculates the Awsites at 61, and the Kazrajites at 170, five of both being absent. Wâckidi and Mûsa ibn Ocba make the Awsites 63; and the former gives the Kazrajites at 175, which would swell the total to 323. These are the most reliable calculations. *K. Wâckidi*, 99½, 262½, 275, 295½; *Wâckidi*, 96; *Hishâmi*, 245; *Tabari*, 321.

* This was probably on the Monday. It is somewhat difficult to find time for all the events that crowd in between Sunday and Thursday evening. The names of the spies were Basbas and Adi, both allied to Medîna clans, and more likely than any of the Refugees to be acquainted with this vicinity. For the position of Badr, see *Burckhardt*, 405, 456.

heard some women who had come to draw water talking among themselves "of the caravan that was expected on the morrow or the day after," and they returned in haste with the intelligence to Mahomet.

Abu Sofiân, discovering traces of Mahomet's scouts, hastens forward, and escapes.

As Abu Sofiân approached Badr, his apprehensions were quickened by the vicinity of Medîna, and hastening in advance of the caravan, he resolved himself to reconnoitre the spot. At Badr, he was told that no strangers had been seen, excepting two men, who, after resting their camels for a little by the well, and drinking water, went off again. Proceeding to the spot, he carefully scrutinized it all around. "Camels from Yathreb!" he exclaimed, as among the litter his practised eye discerned the date-stone peculiar to Medîna. "These are the spies of Mahomet!"* So saying, he hurried back to the caravan; and forthwith diverting its course to the right, so as to keep close by the sea-shore, pressed forward day and night without halting, and was soon beyond the reach of danger. Then hearing that an army of the Coreish had marched from Mecca to his aid, he sent forward a courier to say that all was safe, and that they should now return to their homes.

Alarm at Mecca. The Coreish resolve to march to the rescue of the caravan.

Ten or twelve days before this, Mecca had been thrown into a state of great alarm by the sudden appearance of Dhamdham, the first messenger of Abu Sofiân. Urging his camel at its full speed

* The date-stones were searched out by him from the dung of the camels.

along the valley and main street of Mecca, he made it kneel down in the open space before the Kaaba, and hastily reversed the saddle, cut off its ears and nose, and rent his shirt before and behind. Having signified by these acts the alarming import of his mission, he cried at the pitch of his voice to the people who began to crowd around: "Coreish! Coreish! your caravan is pursued by Mahomet. Help! O Help!" Immediately, the city was in commotion; for the caravan was the great annual one to Syria, in which every Coreishite of any substance had a venture.* It was at once determined to march in great force, repel the marauding troops, and rescue the caravan. "Doth Mahomet, indeed, imagine," said they among themselves, "that it will be this time as in the affair of the Hadhramite!" alluding to the treacherous surprise at Nakhla, where, two months before, Amr the Hadhramite had been slain. "Never! He shall know it to be otherwise."

Preparations were hurried forward on every side. The resolve, at any sacrifice, to chastise the audacity, and crush the hostility, of the Moslems was universal. Every man of consequence prepared to join the army. A few, unable themselves to go, sent substitutes; among these was Abu Lahab,

They set out, and reach Johfa, where they are met by Abu Sofiân's messenger.

* *Wâckidi*, 21. The value was estimated at 50,000 dinars. The amount of capital invested by some of the chief families is mentioned. Of one family it is said that it was "their caravan year," which may imply that there were periodical times at which a family made special efforts in the traffic.

the uncle of Mahomet.* One fear there was that Mecca might, during their absence, be surprised by the Bani Bakr, an adjacent tribe, with which there was a present feud. But this was obviated by the guarantee of a powerful chief allied to both tribes.† So great was the alacrity, that in two or three days after the alarm by Dhamdham the army was in motion. It marched in haste, but not without some display of rude pomp; for singing women, with their tabrets, followed and sang by the fountains at which they halted.‡ At Johfa, the second courier of Abu Sofiân (who himself shortly after, with the caravan, passed by a route closer to the

* Some say that he neither went nor sent a substitute; others, that he sent Aas, grandson of Mughîra, in consideration of the remission of a debt of 400 dirhems. It is said that he refused to accompany the army in consequence of the dream of his sister Atika.

I have omitted any allusion to this dream, as well as to other dreams and prodigies seen by the Coreish, anticipatory of the disasters at Badr, because I believe them all to be fictitious. The tinge of horror in after days reflected back on the "sacrilegious" battle, the anxiety to excuse certain families, and the wish to invest others with a species of merit, as having served Islam by dreams or prophecies, combined to give rise to them.

† Or rather, as some traditions will have it, by the guarantee of *the Devil* himself, in the form of Surâca ibn Jûsham, the Mudlijite. *Wâckidi*, 31. The Devil is repeatedly represented in the form of this man, as we shall see below. We have already met Surâca, vol. ii. 263.

It is the Bani Bakr, descended from Kinâna, not the Bani Bakr of the desert, that are here spoken of. See *Table*, vol. i. p. cxcv.

‡ The names of three of these women are given by Wâckidi, pp. 32 and 37.

sea) arrived with intelligence of his safety, and the message that they were to return.*

The question of going forward or of turning back was warmly debated by the leading chiefs. On the one hand, it was argued that the object for which they had set out having been secured, the army should at once retrace its steps; that the forces of Mahomet were closely related to themselves:—"When we have fought and spilled the blood of our brethren and our kinsmen," said this party, "of what use will life be to us any longer? Let us now go back, and we will be responsible for the blood-money of Amr, killed at Nakhla."† Others,

They debate whether to return or go forward.

* I take this to have been on Wednesday, 11th January. The sequence of events is probably as follows:—Mahomet started on Sunday morning: on Monday he despatched his scouts to Badr: on Tuesday they reached Badr, and returned: On Tuesday, after them, Abu Sofiân arrived at Badr: on Tuesday night he passed the threatened region safely; and on Wednesday sent his messenger to the Coreish camp at Johfa, two marches from Badr. The Coreish marched forward on Wednesday, and on Thursday evening encamped near Badr. The stages of the Coreish are given as follows:—1. Marr al Tzahran. 2. Osfân. 3. Kudeid. 4——. 5. Johfa. 6. Abwa. 7——. 8——. 9. Badr. *Wâckidi*, 140. But the gaps, for which no names are given, are probably apocryphal, and inserted for the purpose of swelling out the number of the chiefs who each fed the army with camels at one of the stages. The Coreish, I suppose, left Mecca about the same time that Mahomet started from Medîna, perhaps a day or two before him. They travelled, for the first part at least, by forced marches, to save the caravan. They sent a messenger to Abu Sofiân, as they started from Mecca, to apprise him of their march, but he missed the caravan, which kept close by the shore.

† Hakîm ibn Hizam, the nephew of Khadîja (who supplied food to Mahomet and his party when shut up with Abu Tâlib) is mentioned as urgent in offering this advice.

and Abu Jahl at their head, demanded that the army should advance. "If we turn back now," they said, "it will surely be imputed to our cowardice. Let us go forward to Badr; and there, by the fountain, spend three days eating and making merry. All Arabia will hear of it, and will ever after stand in awe of us." The affair of Nakhla, and the slaughter of the Hadhramite, still rankled in the heart of the Coreish, and they listened willingly to the warlike counsel. Two tribes alone, the Bani Zohra and Adi, returned to Mecca.* The rest marched onwards.† Leaving the Medîna branch to the right, they kept along the Syrian road, and made straight for Badr.

And resolve to advance to Badr.

We now return to Mahomet. He, too, was advancing rapidly on Badr; for there he expected, from the report of his spies, to find the caravan. On Tuesday night, he reached Rooha; as he drank

Mahomet receives intelligence of the march of the Coreish army.

---

* The reason is not given; the former was the tribe of Mahomet's mother; the latter, that of Omar.

† They, however, sent back the singing girls. The messenger, who carried the intelligence to Abu Sofiân, that the Coreish refused to turn back, reached him at Al Hadda, near Mecca; and Abu Sofiân is represented as lamenting over the folly of his countrymen. All this seems to be apocryphal. Till viewed in the light of its disastrous issue, the advance on Badr must have appeared a politic and reasonable measure. It was not *an attack* on Medîna, for Badr was on the road to Syria, and left Medîna far on the right. If they met the Medîna forces there, it was because the latter had come forth gratuitously to attack the Meccan caravan, a fair and sufficient *casus belli*; for what security could the Meccans have if the men of Medîna were allowed thus with impunity to attack their convoys and plunder their caravans?

from the well there, he blessed the valley in terms of which the pious traveller is reminded to the present day.* On Thursday, while he was yet at a distance from Badr, intelligence was received from some travellers that the enemy was in full march upon him. This was the first intimation to the Moslems that the Meccans had heard of the danger of the caravan, and were on their way to defend it. A council of war was summoned, and Mahomet invited his chief men to offer their advice. There was but one opinion, and each delivered it more enthusiastically than another. Abu Bakr and Omar advised an immediate advance. The Prophet then turned to the men of Medîna, for their pledge did not require them to fight away from their city. Sád ibn Muâdz, their spokesman, replied: "Prophet of the Lord! march whither thou listest: encamp wherever thou mayest choose: make war or conclude peace with whom thou wilt. For I swear by him who hast sent thee with the Truth, that if thou wert to march till our camels fell down dead,† we should go forward with thee to the world's end. Not one of us would be left behind."‡ Then said Mahomet: "Go forward, with the blessing of God! For, verily, he hath promised one of the two—the army or the caravan,—that he will deliver it into

In a council of war an onward march enthusiastically determined on.

* *Wâckidi*, 40; *Burton*, ii. 17.

† Lit. "break their livers" (by marching).

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 100, 102½; more extended in *Wâckidi*, 44.

my hands.* Methinks, by the Lord, I even now see the battle-field strewn, as it were, with their dead."†

The Moslems more implacable than the Coreish.

It is remarkable, in comparing this council with that of the Coreish at Johfa, to observe how entirely absent from the minds of the Mussulmans was any trace of compunction at the prospect of entering into mortal combat with their kinsmen. The Coreish, goaded as they were by the repeated attack of their caravans, and the blood shed at Nakhla, were yet staggered by the prospect, and nearly persuaded by their better feelings to return to Mecca. The Moslems, though the aggressors, were hardened by the memory of former injuries, by the maxim that their faith severed all earthly ties without the circle of Islam, and by a fierce fanaticism for their Prophet's cause. At one of the stages, where he halted to lead the public devotions, Mahomet, after

* This point is alluded to in the Coran, which henceforth becomes the vehicle of many of Mahomet's "general orders" as military commander. "And when the Lord promised one of the two parties that it should be given over unto you; and ye desired that it should be the party unarmed for war (*i.e.* that ye should fall upon the caravan, and not the Coreishite army), whereas the Lord willed to establish the Truth by his words, and to cut away the foundation from the Unbelievers;—that he might establish the Truth, and abolish Falsehood, even although the Transgressors be averse thereto." *Sura*, viii. 7.

† The latter clause may be apocryphal. In later traditions it is worked out to a fabulous extent. Mahomet, for example, is made to point out from this vision what was to be the death spot of each of his chief opponents; "and," it is added, "the people were by this apprised for the first time that it was the Coreishite army they were about to encounter, and not the caravan." *Wâckidi*, 45.

rising from his knees, thus called down the curse of God upon the infidels, and prayed: "O Lord! Let not Abu Jahl escape, the Pharaoh of his people! Lord, let not Zamaa escape; rather let the eyes of his father run sore for him with weeping, and become blind!"* The Prophet's hate was unrelenting, and his followers imbibed from him the same inexorable spirit.

In the afternoon of Thursday, on reaching the neighbourhood of Badr, Mahomet sent forward Ali, with a few others, to reconnoitre the rising ground about the springs. There they surprised the water-carriers of the Coreish, as they were about to fill their sheepskins. One escaped to the Coreish; the rest were captured. The chiefs questioned them about the caravan, imagining that they belonged to it; and receiving no satisfactory answer, had begun to beat them, when Mahomet interfered, and soon discovered the proximity of his enemy. The camp, they replied, to his earnest inquiries, lay just beyond the sand-hills, which they pointed to as skirting the south-western side of the valley. As they could not tell the strength of the force, the Prophet asked sagaciously how many camels they slaughtered for their daily food. "Nine," they answered, "one day, and ten the next day, alternately." "Then,"

Mahomet learns from the Coreish water-carriers the proximity and strength of the enemy.

* *Wâckidi*, p. 39;—where Suheil is included in the prayer; he was taken prisoner. As regards Zamaa, however, some say that he was among those whom Mahomet desired not to be harmed.

said Mahomet, "they are between 900 and 1,000 strong." The estimate was correct. There were 950 men. They were mounted on 700 camels and 100 horses.*

The escape of the caravan a benefit to Mahomet.

The followers of Mahomet, and perhaps Mahomet himself, were deeply chagrined at finding their expectation of an easy prey thus changed into the prospect of a bloody battle. They seem, however, to have advanced even to the field of action with the hope that, if conquerors, they might still pursue and seize the caravan. But it was, in truth, a fortunate event for Mahomet that Abu Sofiân had already passed. The continuing jeopardy of the caravan would have bound the Coreish together by a unity and determination, which the knowledge of its safety dissipated. The prize of victory in the field of Badr was of incomparably greater consequence to Mahomet than any spoil, however costly.

Mahomet takes up a position at Badr.

The valley of Badr consists of a plain, with steep hills to the north and east; on the south is a low rocky range; and on the west rise a succession of sandy hillocks. A rivulet, rising in the inland mountains, runs through the valley, producing a number of springs, which here and there were dug into cisterns for the accommodation of travellers. At the nearest of these springs, the army of Mahomet halted. Hobâb, a follower, from Medîna,

* *K. Wâckidi*, 100; *Wâckidi*, 32. The horsemen were all clad in mail.

advised him to proceed onwards: "Let us go," he said, "to the farthest spring on the side of the enemy. I know a never-failing fountain of sweet water there; let us make that our reservoir, and destroy the other wells." The advice was good. It was at once adopted, and the sole command of the water thus secured.

He sleeps in a hut of palm branches.

The night was drawing on. So they hastily constructed, near the well, a hut of palm branches, in which Mahomet and Abu Bakr slept. Sád ibn Muâdz kept watch by the entrance with his drawn sword. It rained during the night, but more heavily towards the camp of the Coreish.* The Moslem army, wearied with its long march, enjoyed sound and refreshing sleep. The dreams of Mahomet turned upon his enemies, and they were pictured to his imagination as a weak and contemptible force.†

Mahomet

In the morning, he drew up his little army him-

* The rain is thus alluded to in the Coran:—"When he overshadowed you with a deep sleep, as a security, from himself; and caused to descend upon you Rain from the heavens, that he might purify you therewith, and take from you the uncleanness of Satan; and that he might strengthen your hearts, and establish your steps thereby." *Sura*, viii. v. 11. As a foil to this picture, the Coreish are represented as apprehensive and restless till morning broke. *Wâckidi*, 50.

† "And when God caused them to appear before thee in thy sleep, few in number; and if he had caused them to appear unto thee a great multitude, ye would have been affrighted, and have disputed in the matter (of their attack). But truly God preserved thee, for he knoweth the heart of man." *Sura*, viii. 45.

draws up his army.

Friday, 17th Ramadhân. A.H. II. 13th January, 624 A.D.

self, and pointing with an arrow which he held in his hand, arranged the ranks. The previous day, he had placed the chief banner,—that of the Refugees—in the hands of Musáb, who nobly proved his right to the distinction. The Khazrajite ensign was committed to Hobâb; that of the Bani Aus, to Sád ibn Muâdz.*

The Coreish, after further dissensions, draw up their line, and move forward.

Meanwhile dissensions again sprang up in the camp of the Coreish on the policy of fighting against their kinsmen. Shaïba and Otba, two chiefs of rank, the sons of Rabia, strongly urged that the attack should be abandoned.† Just then, Omeir, a diviner by arrows, after riding hastily

* Some say that Abu Bakr commanded the right of the Moslem army; but Wâckidi decides (p. 53) that no one was specifically placed in command of the right or left of either army.

† At this, and similar points, the biographers cast the chief blame on Abu Jahl; but the evident colouring of the picture, and coarse terms of abuse applied to him, show evidently that the work of fabrication has been busy here. Abu Jahl was a convenient scapegoat, on whom it was impossible to cast too much guilt and blame. See *Canon*, I. G. vol. i. p. lviii. On the other hand, there were families anxious to free their ancestors or patrons as much as possible from the responsibility of the impious advance on Badr; and this tendency has no doubt overcoloured the exertions of those who are represented as persuading the army to turn back. Hakîm ibn Hizâm, who escaped, and was converted, is himself an actor in this scene; and the endeavour to exculpate him is evident in the speeches ascribed to him, —perhaps even framed by himself in after days. It is curious to find again Addâs, the slave of Shaiba and Otba (vol. ii. 201) among these scenes, entreating his masters, with tears in his eyes, to return to Mecca. Some say he accompanied them to the battle, and was there slain; others, that he returned to Meçca with the shattered remains of the army." *Wâckidi*, 27-29.

round the valley, returned to report the result of his reconnaissance. "Ye Coreish," he said, after telling them his estimate of the enemy's number, "calamities approach you, fraught with destruction. Inevitable death rideth upon the camels of Yathrab. It is a people that hath neither defence nor refuge but in their swords. See ye not that they are dumb and do not speak? Their tongues they put forth with the deadly aim of a serpent. Not a man of them shall we kill but one of ourselves will be slain also; and when there shall have been slaughtered amongst us a number equal unto them, of what avail will life be to us after that!"* These words began to produce a pacific effect, when Abu Jahl, as before, loudly opposed the proposals for peace.† Turning to Amir the Hadhramite, he bade him call to mind the blood of his brother

* *K. Wâckidi*, 100½; *Wâckidi*, 57. Omeir survived, and repeated the tale of these events before the Caliph Omar. He went on to confess how immediately after the scene above described, he had stirred up the army to go forth to the fight: "And we were disgraced that day; but the Lord at last brought Islam unto us, and guided us thereto. That was the worst piece of infidelity I ever committed." "Thou speakest the truth," replied Omar. *Wâckidi*, 60.

Some of the biographers, evidently appreciating the motives of the Coreish in ther repugnance to carry arms against their brethren, have clumsily manufactured a scene, in which Mahomet is represented as sending Omar to the Coreish to persuade them to go back. *Wâckidi*, 56. But the passage is corrupted.

† See the previous note, in which I have referred to the strong bias against Abu Jahl, &c. It is almost impossible at many points to disentangle fact from fiction, owing its origin to motives of this nature.

slain at Nakhla. The flame was rekindled. Amir threw off his clothes, cast dust upon his body, and began frantically to cry aloud his brother's name. The deceased had been a confederate of the family of Shaiba and Otba. Their pride and honour were affected. They saw that thoughts of peace must now be scattered to the winds; and they resolved signally to vindicate themselves from the imputation of cowardice cast on them by Abu Jahl. The army was now drawn up in line. The three standards for its centre and wings were borne by members of the house of Abdal Dar, which was entitled to the privilege.* They moved slowly over the intervening sand-hills, which the rain had made heavy and fatiguing. The same cause had rendered the ground in front of Mahomet lighter and more firm to walk upon. The Meccan army laboured under another disadvantage in having the rising sun before them; while the army of Medîna faced towards the west.

Mahomet awaits their approach in anxiety. His earnest prayer.

Mahomet had barely arrayed his line of battle, when the advanced column of the Coreish appeared over the rising sands in front. Their greatly superior numbers were concealed by the fall of the ground behind; and this imparted confidence to the

* Vol. i. *Introduction*, pp. cciv. and ccxlvii. *note*. Some traditions assign the command of the centre and of the two wings to certain chiefs, but Wâckidi (see above, p. 98) discredits the tradition. Zamaa is said to have commanded the horse; but others say Hârith ibn Hishâm." *Wâckidi*, 53.

Moslems.* But Mahomet was fully alive to the critical position of his affairs at that moment. The fate of Islam hung upon the issue of the approaching battle. Followed by Abu Bakr, he entered the little hut, and raising his hands, poured forth these earnest petitions: "O Lord! I beseech thee, forget not Thy promise of assistance and of victory. O Lord! if this little band be van-

* This is represented in the Coran as the result of divine interposition. After mentioning Mahomet's dream (see above, p. 97) of the small number of the enemy, the passage (now speaking of the Moslem army at large) proceeds: "And when he caused them to appear in your eyes, at the time ye met, to be few in number, and diminished you in their eyes, that God might accomplish the thing that was to be." *Sura*, viii. 46.—*i.e.* by this ocular deception, the Mussulmans were encouraged to advance to victory; and the Coreish similarly lured on to their fate. So again:—"When ye were on the hither side, and they on the farther side (of the valley), and the caravan below you;* and if ye had made a mutual appointment to fight, ye would surely have declined the appointment; but (the Lord ordered otherwise) that he might bring to pass the thing that was to be;—that he who perisheth might perish by a manifest interposition, and he that liveth might live by a manifest interposition." *Sura*, ii. 42-44.—alluding to the fact that each army advanced near to the field of battle, without knowing of the approach of the other; they were led on by an unseen hand.

In a later passage, the interposition of God at this battle is stated as *doubling* the army of Medîna in the eyes of the Coreish. *Sura*, iii. 13. The discrepancy is thus explained by the commentators:—The Coreish were at first drawn on by fancying Mahomet's army to be a mere handful; when they had actually closed in battle, they were terrified by their exaggerated appearance, for they now seemed a great multitude.

* *i.e.* on the plain, by the sea-shore, passing on towards Mecca.

141353

quished, Idolatry will prevail, and the pure worship of Thee cease from off the earth!" * "The Lord," said Abu Bakr, comforting him, "will surely come to thine aid, and will lighten thy countenance with the joy of victory."

Fierce combat by the reservoir.

The time for action had arrived. Mahomet again came forth. The enemy was close; but the army of Medîna moved not. The Prophet had strictly forbidden his followers to stir, till he should give the order for advance; only they were to check any flank movement of the Coreish by the discharge of arrows. The cistern was guarded as their palladium. Certain desperate warriors of the Coreish had sworn to drink water from it, to destroy it, or to perish in the attempt. Scarcely one of them returned from the rash enterprise. † With signal gallantry, Aswad advanced close to the brink,

---

* Or, "And there shall no more be any to offer unto thee pure worship." Or, "And true religion cease from mankind." *Wâckidi*, 55–62. *Tabari*, 282.

Other prayers are given; but if there was any of this nature at all (which I will not vouch for), the one in the text is that most suitable to the anxiety and trepidation of the hour. Some traditions make this the moment when a sleep or trance overcame Mahomet, and God showed him the enemy few in number. See above.

A set speech addressed by Mahomet to the troops, after he had drawn them up, is given by some biographers, but it is evidently apocryphal.

† Hakîm ibn Hizâm is said to have been the only one that tasted of the water, and escaped. He used to relate that he had been vouchsafed two signal deliverances: *first*, he was one of those

when a blow from Hamza's sword fell upon his leg and nearly severed it from his body. Still defending himself, he crawled onwards and made good his vow; for he drank of the water, and with his remaining leg demolished a part of the cistern, before the sword of Hamza put an end to his life.

Three Coreish challenge the Moslems to single combat.

Already, after the fashion of Arabian warfare, single combats had been fought at various points, when the two brothers Shaiba and Otba, and Walîd the son of Otba, still smarting from the words of Abu Jahl, advanced into the space between the armies, and defied three champions from the army of Mahomet to meet them singly. Three citizens of Medîna stepped forward;* but Mahomet, unwilling that the glory or the burden of the opening conflict should rest with his allies, called them back; and, turning to his kinsmen, said: "Ye sons of Hâshim! arise and fight, according to your right." Then Hamza, Ali, and Obeida,† the uncle and cousins of the Prophet, went forth. Hamza wore an ostrich feather in his breast, and a white plume distinguished the helmet of Ali.‡ But their features

who lay in wait at Mahomet's house, before his flight from Mecca; *second*, he was one of those who drank of the cistern of Badr. And he was the only one, he said, of either party that survived to embrace Islam. *Wâckidi*, 75.

* Two of them were the sons of Afrâ. There is a discrepancy as to the third.

† Son of Hârith, son of Abdal Muttalib. Vol. ii. p. 106.

‡ Zobeir wore for his uniform a *yellow* turban; and Abu Dujâna (a Medîna warrior, conspicuous for his fierce gallantry), a *red* one. *Wâckidi*, 70.

were hid by their armour. Otba, therefore, not knowing who his opponents might be, cried aloud: "Speak, that we may recognize you! If ye be equals, we shall fight with you." Hamza answered, "I am the son of Abdal Muttalib—Hamza, *the Lion of God, and the Lion of his Prophet.*" "A worthy foe," exclaimed Otba; "but who are the others with thee?" Hamza repeated their names; and Otba replied: "Meet foes every one!"

The Coreishite champions slain.

Then Otba called to his son Walîd, "Arise and fight." So Walîd stepped forth; and Ali came out against him. They were the youngest of the six. The combat was short; Walîd fell, mortally wounded, by the sword of Ali. Eager to avenge his son's death, Otba hastened forward, and Hamza advanced to meet him. As previously, the swords gleamed quick, and Otba was slain by the Moslem Lion. Shaiba alone remained of the champions of Mecca, and Obeida now drew near to fight with him. They were both advanced in years, and the conflict was less decisive than before.* At last, Shaiba dealt a sword-cut on the leg of Obeida with such force as to sever the tendon, and bring him to the ground. Seeing this, Hamza and Ali rushed on Shaiba and despatched him. Obeida lingered for a few days, and was buried at Safra.†

* Obeida was the oldest of all Mahomet's followers at the time. He was ten years older than the prophet, or about 65. Shaiba was three years older than Otba.

† According to another tradition, Hamza fights with Shaiba,

The fate of their champions was ominous for the Coreish, and their spirits sank. The ranks began to close, with the battle-cry on the Moslem side of *Yâ Mansur Amit*, "Ye conquerors, strike!"* and the fighting became general. But there were still many of those scenes of individual bravery which characterize the irregular warfare of Asiatic armies, and often impart a Homeric interest. Prodigies of valour were exhibited on both sides; but the army of the Faithful was borne forward by an enthusiasm which the Coreish were unable to withstand.

The lines close.

What part Mahomet himself took in the battle is not clear. Some traditions represent him moving along the ranks with a drawn sword. It is more likely that he contented himself with inciting his followers by the promise of Divine assistance, and by holding out the prospect of Paradise to those who fell.† The spirit of Omeir, a lad of but six-

Mahomet incites his followers.

and Obeida with Otba; but the Secretary of Wâckidi prefers the account in the text.

Tradition rejoices in recording, perhaps inventing, instances of faith or fanaticism leading to the inhuman disregard of the most sacred ties of blood. Thus, when Otba challenged the army of believers, his son, Abu Hodzeifa, arose to go forth against him; but Mahomet told him to sit down. It is added that Abu Hodzeifa aided Hamza in killing his father, giving him a cut with his sword. But see below another tradition regarding the scene at the pit of the slain, implying a better feeling on his part.

* Lit. *O thou that art assisted (of God), or triumphant, slay!* Others say that the Refugees had *Yâ Bar' Abd al Rahmân* for their war-cry; the Khazrajites, *Yâ Bani Abdalla;* the Awsites, *Yâ Bani Obeidalla. Wâckidi*, 66; *K. Wâckidi*, 100.

† Mahomet had no sword till he received the famous *Dzul Ficâr*

teen years, was kindled in him as he listened to the Prophet's words. Tradition delights to tell of the ardour with which this stripling threw away a handful of dates which he was eating.—"Is it these," he exclaimed, "that hold me back from Paradise? Verily I will taste no more of them, until I meet my Lord!" With such words, he drew his sword, and casting himself upon the enemy's ranks, soon obtained the fate he coveted.

The Moslem army puts the Coreish to flight.

It was a stormy winter day. A piercing blast swept across the valley. *That*, said Mahomet, *is Gabriel with a thousand angels flying as a whirlwind against our foe.* Another, and yet another blast:—it was Michael, and after him, Seraphîl, each with a like angelic troop.* The battle raged. The Prophet stooped down, and lifting a handful of gravel, cast it towards the Coreish, crying aloud,—*Confusion seize their faces!* The action was well timed. The line of the Coreish began to waver. Their movements were impeded by the heavy sands on which they stood; and when the ranks gave way, their numbers added to the confusion. The Moslems followed eagerly on their retreating steps, slaying or taking captive all that fell within their

as a portion of the booty of Badr. *Wâckidi*, 99. But of course he might have borrowed one for the occasion. Ali is reported to have said that no one fought more fiercely than Mahomet that day; and that though they endeavoured to hold him back, none ventured nearer the enemy's ranks. *K. Wâckidi*, 102. But this is far from being in accordance with the general tenor of tradition.

* For fabulous additions, see vol. i. p. lxiv.

reach. Retreat soon turned into an ignominious flight. The Coreish, in their haste to escape, cast away their armour and abandoned their beasts of burden, with all their camp and equipage.* Forty-nine were killed, and about the same number taken prisoners.† Mahomet lost only fourteen, of whom eight were citizens of Medîna, and six Refugees.‡

Slaughter of some of Mahomet's chief opponents. *Abu Jahl.*

Many of the principal men of the Coreish, and some of Mahomet's bitterest opponents, were slain. Chief amongst these was Abu Jahl. Muâdz ibn Amr brought him to the ground by a blow which cut his leg in two. Muâdz, in his turn, was attacked by Ikrima, the son of Abu Jahl, and his arm nearly severed from his shoulder. As the mutilated arm hanging by the skin impeded his action, Muâdz put his foot upon it, pulled it off, and went on his way fighting. Such were the heroes of Badr.

---

* *Wâckidi*, 90.

† Their names are given. *Wâckidi*, 109-151. The *popular* number is seventy killed and seventy wounded; but the detail is decisive in favour of the text. The number *seventy* has originated in the supposition of a correspondence between the *fault* of Mahomet in taking (and not slaying) the prisoners of Badr, and the retributive rëverse at Ohod in the following year. Seventy Moslems were killed at Ohod: hence it is assumed that seventy Meccans were taken prisoners at Badr.

‡ Two more, at least, died of their wounds on their way home, and an additional name is given by Wâckidi, though it may be only a variation. The graves of four of the Bâdr martyrs are said to be at Sayyar, a defile near the narrow part of the Safra valley, and three at Dabba or Dobba, "below the fountain of Al Mustajal." The tomb of Obeida is at Dzât Ijdal, "in a narrow defile below the fountain of Al Jadwal." *Wâckidi*, 143.

Abu Jahl was yet breathing when Abdallah, the servant of Mahomet, ran up, and cutting off his head, carried it to his master. "The head of the enemy of God!" exclaimed Mahomet;—"God! there is none other God but he!"—"There is no other!" responded Abdallah, as he cast the bloody head at the Prophet's feet. "It is more acceptable to me," cried Mahomet, "than the choicest camel in all Arabia."*

But there were others whose death caused no

---

* *Lit. A red Camel:* see vol ii. p. 11 for the same expression.

A conversation is described between Abdallah and Abu Jahl. The former, on coming up, placed his foot on Abu Jahl's neck, and cried,—"Ha! Hath not God put thee to shame this day, thou enemy of God?"—"Wherefore?" said the dying man; "I only sought to inflict retaliation for the Hadhramite whom ye killed. But tell me, how goes the day?"—"With God and with his Prophet," replied Abdallah. "Then," said Abu Jahl, "Verily, thou hast risen to a dangerous height, O thou Feeder of Sheep!" The story proceeds as in the text. *Wâckidi*, 84; *Hishâmi*, 228.

Muâdz was aided in his attack on Abu Jahl by two Medîna men, the sons of Afrâ, and there is as usual a huge mass of discrepant traditions as to which of them had the merit of slaying "the Pharaoh of his people;" Wâckidi sums up the evidence impartially, p. 85. These traditions are evidently, in great measure, apocryphal. Mahomet is said to have given orders for Abu Jahl's body to be mutilated and disfigured.

Tradition (which, however, as before observed, is in this respect to be cautiously received) represents Abu Jahl's family as retaining a strong feeling against the slayer of Abu Jahl,—in other words, an anti-Mussulman feeling,—for some time. Wâckidi tells a curious story of a knot of persons at Medîna one day going to purchase *ottar* at a shop kept by Abu Jahl's mother. In conversation, it turned out that the woman who wished to buy was daughter of one of the slayers of Abu Jahl,—whereupon, the mother would sell her none. *Wâckidi*, 84. Abu Jahl's proper name was Abul *Hakam*, "Father of Wisdom" (vol. ii. p. 169);

gratification to Mahomet. Ab ul Bokhtari had shown kindness to him, and was specially instrumental in procuring the release of himself and his followers from the residence of Abu Tâlib.* Mahomet, mindful of this favour, had commanded that he should not be harmed. Abul Bokhtari had a companion seated on his camel behind him. A warrior, riding up, told him of the quarter given by Mahomet; but, added he, "I cannot spare the man behind thee."—"The women of Mecca," Ab ul Bokhtari exclaimed, "shall never say that I abandoned my comrade through love of life. Do thy work upon us both." So they were killed.†

Ab ul Bokhtari, to whom Mahomet had desired quarter to be given, is slain.

After the battle was over, some of the prisoners were cruelly murdered.‡ The following incident

Savage slaughter of some of the prisoners.

it was changed by the Moslems in contempt to Abu *Jahl*, "Father of Folly."

* Vol. ii. p. 192.

† Other accounts are given of this incident. See *Wâckidi*, 75. Zamaa is added to the number whom Mahomet desired to be spared on account of similar kindness; but see above (p. 95) the savage prayer regarding him, ascribed to Mahomet. Hârith ibn Amir was also, they say, in the same category. Others add, Abbâs, and indeed the whole of the descendants of Hâshim. *Hishâmi*, 225; *Tabari*, 288. But this looks like an Abasside fabrication to support the veneration claimed for that family in later days. A story is told of Abu Hodzeifa, who, when Mahomet desired that Abbâs should be spared, said,—"Are we to slay our fathers, brothers, uncles, &c., and to spare Abbâs? No, verily, but I will slay him if I find him." Omar, as usual, threatens the audacious disputer with his sword. *Wâckidi*, 75.

‡ Two other cases of prisoners slaughtered in cold blood, besides the one in the text, will be found in Wackidi, pp. 86 and 100:—The first was Nowfal ibn Khuweilid. It is said that Ali had

will illustrate the savage spirit, already an element of Mussulman fanaticism. Omeya ibn Khalf and his son were unable to escape with the fugitive Coreish; and, seeing Abd al Rahmân pass, implored that he would make them his prisoners. Abd al Rahmân, in remembrance of an ancient friendship, cast away the plunder he was carrying, and making both his prisoners, was proceeding with them to the Moslem camp. As they passed, Bilâl espied his old enemy,—for Omeya had used to persecute him;* and he screamed aloud, "Slay him. He is the head of the Unbelievers. I am lost, I am lost, if he survives!" From all sides, the infuriated soldiers poured in upon the wretched captives; and Abd al Rahmân, finding resistance impossible, bade them save their lives as best they could. Defence was vain; and the two prisoners were immediately cut to pieces.†

---

overheard Mahomet praying for his death. So when he saw him led off a prisoner, he fell upon him and killed him. Mahomet uttered a *takbîr* of joy when told of it, and said that it had happened in answer to his prayer.

The other was Mâbad ibn Wahb. Omar met one of his comrades carrying him off, and taunted him,—"Well, ye are beaten now!"—"Nay, by Lât and Ozza!" said the prisoner. "Is that the manner of speech for a captive Infidel towards a Believer?" cried Omar, as he cut off the wretched man's head by one blow of his scimitar.

* Vol. ii. 129.

† The whole transaction was so treacherous and savage, that even the Moslems seem to have been in some small degree ashamed of it, and to have tried to shift the blame from one to another. *Wâckidi*, 79.

When the enemy had disappeared, the army of Medîna was for some time engaged in gathering the spoil. Every man was allowed to retain the plunder of those whom he had slain with his own hand.* The rest was thrown into a common stock. It consisted of one hundred and fifteen camels, fourteen horses, a large store of leather, and much equipage and armour.† A diversity of opinion arose about the distribution. Those who had hotly pursued the enemy and exposed their lives in securing the spoil, claimed the whole, or at the least a superior portion; while such as had remained behind upon the field of battle, for the safety of the Prophet and of the

The booty gathered together.

Contention about its division decided by a revelation.

* There is some discrepancy here. One set of traditions state that though it was proclaimed, during the battle, that each soldier would have the prisoners taken, and the spoil of those slain by him, yet that this was retracted by the Revelation which follows in the text; and that all were obliged to disgorge, and carry every thing into the common stock. Others say that the gathering extended only to the ordinary plunder, not taken by individual valour; and this, besides being the conclusion of Wâckidi, is borne out by the fact, that the spoils of certain of the slain, remained, and descended by inheritance in the families of the heroes who had slain them; so much so, that the traditionists used to inquire in what families the spoil was, in proof of who was the slayer.

† It is said that the Coreish were carrying the leather *as merchandise;* but this does not well agree with the rest of the story. There were, however, among the spoil, leather beds or rugs. *Wâckidi*, 96. A beautiful red vestment is mentioned as a part of the booty; it disappeared, and people began to say that the Prophet had taken it; whereon (according to some) Sura, iii. v. 162 ("It is not for a prophet to conceal booty," &c.) was revealed; but others attribute the verse to another occasion.

camp, urged that they had equally with the others fulfilled the part assigned to them; and that duty, not cowardice, having restrained them from the pursuit, they were entitled to a full share of the prey.* The contention became so sharp that Mahomet was forced to interpose with a message from Heaven, and to assume possession of the whole booty. It was God who had given the victory, and to God all the spoils belonged:—

"They ask thee concerning the Prey. SAY, the Prey is God's and his Prophet's. Wherefore, fear God, and dispose of the matter rightly among yourselves; and be obedient unto God and his Prophet, if ye be true Believers;" and so on in the same strain.† Shortly after, the following ordinance, which the Mussulman law of prize recognizes to the present day, was given forth:—"And know that whatsoever thing ye plunder, verily one fifth thereof is for God and the Prophet, and for him that is of kin (unto the Prophet), and the Orphans, and the Poor, and the Wayfarer—if ye be they that believe in God, and in that which WE sent down to our Servant on the day of Discrimination,‡ the day on

* Sale aptly illustrates the contention by the scene at the taking of Ziklag. I. Sam. xxx. 20-25. "As his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff: they shall part alike:" was David's decision.

† *Sura*, viii.

‡ Alluding to the verse quoted before. "Discrimination," or *Forcan*, the same word which is often applied to the Coran, and sometimes to the Old Testament.

which the two armies met: and God is over all things powerful."*

In accordance with these commands, the booty was gathered together on the field, and placed under a special officer.† The next day it was divided, near Safra, in equal allotments, among the whole army, after the royal fifth had been set apart. All shared alike, excepting that the horsemen received each two extra portions for their horses.‡ To the lot of every man fell a camel, with its gear; or two unaccoutred camels; or a leathern couch, or some such equivalent. Mahomet obtained the famous camel of Abu Jahl, and a sword known by the name of Dzul Ficâr. The sword was selected by him beyond his share, according to a custom which allowed him, in virtue of the prophetic dignity, to choose from the booty, before division, whatever thing pleased him most.

The spoil divided near Safra.

The sun was now declining, so they hastily dug a pit on the field of battle, and cast the enemy's

The enemy's dead cast into a pit.

* *Sura*, viii. 41. This verse is generally believed to have been revealed at Safra, on the occasion of the division of the spoils of Badr. But some hold that it was given forth not long after, in reference to the affair of the Bani Cainucâa. The explanation of the commentators will be found in Sale's *Prel. Dis.* sec. vi. v. i. p. 171.

† Abdalla ibn Kâb, of the Mozeina tribe,—a man of Medîna. *K. Wâckidi*, 101; *Wâckidi*, 95. The division took place at Sayyar, a defile by Safra.

‡ Some make this privilege to have been conceded to the cavalry, on a subsequent occasion; which is quite possible, as there were only two horses on the Moslem side at Badr.

dead into it. Mahomet looked on, as the bodies were brought up and cast in. Abu Bakr stood by, and examining their features, called aloud their names. "Otba! Shaiba! Omeyya! Abu Jahl!" exclaimed Mahomet, as one by one the corpses were, without ceremony, cast into the common grave. "Have ye now found that which your Lord promised you true? What my Lord promised me, that verily have I found to be true. Woe unto this people! Ye have rejected me, your Prophet! Ye cast me forth, and others gave me refuge; ye fought against me, and others came to my help!" "O Prophet!" said the by-standers, "dost thou speak unto the dead!" "Yea, verily," replied Mahomet, "for they well know that the promise of their Lord unto them hath fully come to pass."*

Colloquy of Mahomet with them.

Abu Hodzeifa's grief for his father.

At the moment when the corpse of Otba was tossed into the pit, a look of distress overcast the countenance of his son, Abu Hodzeifa. Mahomet turned kindly to him, and said:—"Perhaps thou art distressed for thy father's fate?" "Not so, O Prophet of the Lord! I do not doubt the justice of my father's fate; but I knew well his wise and generous heart, and I had trusted that the Lord would lead him to the faith. But now that I see him slain,

* That a scene, something of the kind I have described, was actually enacted, seems tolerably certain, though I cannot vouch for the words. It has been surrounded by a good deal of theatrical embellishment. Several versions are given; one, that Mahomet's followers overheard him holding this conversation with the dead *at midnight*. *Wâckidi*, 106, 107; *Hishâmi*, 229.

and my hope destroyed!—it is for that I grieve." So the Prophet comforted Abu Hodzeifa, and blessed him; and said, "It is well."*

The army of Medîna, carrying with them their dead and wounded, retired in the evening to the valley of Otheil, several miles from Badr;† and there Mahomet passed the night. It was at Otheil that the cruel and vindictive spirit of Mahomet towards his enemies first began to display itself. The prisoners were brought up before him. As he scrutinized each, his eye fell fiercely on Nadhr, the son of Hârith. "There was death in that glance," whispered Nadhr, trembling, to a by-stander. "Not so," replied the other; "it is but thine own imagina-

Nadhr, a prisoner, put to death by Mahomet.

* *Wâckidi*, 106; *Hishâmi*, 230; *Tabari*, 294. See, on the other hand, the tradition given above (p. 105) of Abu Hodzeifa's starting up to go forth to fight with his father. Tradition gloats over such savage passages; it is all the more pleasing to light upon an out-burst of natural affection like that in the text.

† "After the spoil was gathered, Mahomet prayed the mid-day prayer, and rested. Then he marched and entered the valley of Otheil; now Otheil is a valley three (Arabian) miles in length, commencing two miles from Badr. Mahomet arrived there at sunset, and passed the night in it, four miles from Badr." I have given a tradition above that four of the martyrs were buried at Sayyar, and three at Dobba. *Wâckidi*, 143. Where the rest were buried, I have not been able to trace. Burckhardt makes the tombs to be *on the field of Badr*.—"To the south of the town, about one mile distant, at the foot of the hills, are the tombs of the thirteen followers and friends of the Prophet, who fell by his side. They are mere heaps of earth, enclosed by a row of loose stones, and are all close together. The Kureish, as our guide explained to us, were posted on the hill behind the tombs," &c. p. 406. But Burckhardt's information about the battle is not accurate. He speaks of Ali, with his "*party of horsemen*."

tion." The unfortunate prisoner thought otherwise, and besought Musáb to intercede for him. Musáb reminded him that he had denied the faith and persecuted the believers. "Ah!" said Nadhr, "had the Coreish made thee a prisoner, they would never have put thee to death!" "Even were it so," Musáb scornfully replied, "I am not as thou art; Islam hath rent all bonds asunder." Micdâd, the captor, seeing that the captive, and with him the chance of a rich ransom, was about to slip from his hands, cried out, "The prisoner is mine!" At this moment, the command to "strike off his head!" was interposed by Mahomet, who had been watching all that passed.—"And, O Lord!" he added, "do thou of thy bounty grant unto Micdâd a better prey than this." Nadhr was forthwith beheaded by Ali.*

Ocba, another prisoner, executed.

Two days afterwards, about half-way to Medîna, Ocba, another prisoner, was ordered out for execution.† He ventured to expostulate, and demand why he should be treated more rigorously than the other captives. "Because of thy enmity to God and to his Prophet," replied Mahomet. "*And my*

* *Wâckidi*, 101. Hishâmi makes the execution take place at Safra, p. 231; *Tabari*, 297. The phrase اضرب عنقه, *Strike his neck*, is always used for beheading. The executioner, by a dexterous stroke of the sword on the back of the neck, generally severs the head at one blow. It is still the mode of capital punishment in Mahometan countries.

† *Wâckidi*, 108. It occurred at Arc al Tzobia, which is on the Medîna side of Safra, two Arabian miles from Rooha, on the S. E. of the Road. *Wâckidi*, 34; *Hishâmi*, 232.

little girl!" cried Ocba, in the bitterness of his soul, —"*who will take care of her?*"—"Hell-fire!" exclaimed the heartless conqueror; and on the instant his victim was hewn to the ground. "Wretch that he was!" continued Mahomet, "and persecutor! Unbeliever in God, in his Prophet, and in his Book! I give thanks unto the Lord that hath slain thee, and comforted mine eyes thereby."

Traditions as to Mahomet's being reprimanded for saving any prisoners alive.

It would even seem to have been contemplated at the close of the battle to kill all the prisoners. Mahomet is represented by tradition as himself directing this course.* Abu Bakr, always on the side of mercy, pleaded for them. Omar, the personification of stern justice, urged Mahomet vehemently to put all to death. Gabriel upon this brought a message from Heaven, leaving it at the Prophet's option either to slay all the captives or demand a ransom for them; but to the latter alternative was annexed

* Thus Mahomet said: "Tell not Saîd of his brother's death" (Mábad, a prisoner, see above p. 110 note); "but kill ye every man his prisoner." *Wâckidi*, 100. Again: "Take not any man his brother prisoner, but rather kill him." p. 101. I would not, however, lay too much stress on these traditions. I am inclined rather to view them as called into existence by the passage quoted below from the Coran.

Mahomet likened Abu Bakr to Michael, Abraham, and Jesus, all advocates of mercy; and Omar to Gabriel, Noah, and Moses, the ministers of justice. *Wâckidi*, 103. He added that if the sin of Badr in sparing the prisoners had been punished rigorously, none would have escaped but Omar and Sád ibn Muâdz (another sanguinary believer, as we shall have full proof below), who both urged the slaughter of all the prisoners. *Wâckidi*, 104; *Tabari*, 318–320.

the condition, that an equal number of the Believers should be killed in battle the ensuing year.* Mahomet consulted his followers; and they said: "Let us save the prisoners alive, and take their ransom; hereafter, they that are killed in lieu thereof will inherit Paradise and the crown of martyrdom;" —which counsel was adopted. These traditions embody the popular Mussulman belief on the subject. But the only mention of it in the Coran is the following verse; which, though produced by Mahomet rather to justify the slaughter of the six prisoners put to death by himself and his followers, and to gain the character of having, with reference to his divine commission, erred on the side of mercy, may have given rise to all this mass of fiction:—

Passage from the Coran on the subject.

"It is not for a Prophet to take prisoners until he hath inflicted a grievous wound upon his enemies on the Earth. Ye seek after the good things of this Life; but God seeketh after the Life to come; and God is Glorious and Wise. Unless an order † from the Lord had interposed, surely a grievous punishment had overtaken you. Now, therefore, of the spoil which ye have taken, eat that which is lawful and desirable; and fear God, for God is Gracious and Merciful.

"O thou Prophet! say unto the Prisoners in thine hands,—If God knoweth any thing in your hearts which is good, he will give unto you better than that which is taken from you; ‡ and he will

* "Which came to pass at Ohod." *Wâckidi*, 102.

† Lit. "a Writing."—*Kitâb.* Abdoolcâder translates in Urdu thus:—"*Had this not been written in God's decrees*," viz. that many of the captives would be converted to Islam. Others make it refer to previous passages, authorizing the taking of prey. It may simply mean,—"Had there not been a previous decree to the contrary, a grievous punishment had overtaken you," &c.

‡ *i.e.* Liberty or Ransom.

forgive you, for the Lord is Forgiving and Merciful. But if they seek to act unfaithfully towards thee *—verily they have acted unfaithfully towards God already, and God is Knowing and Wise."†

Mahomet hopes to convert the remaining prisoners.

It will be remarked that Mahomet already contemplates the possibility of converting the prisoners to his cause; and in some instances, as we shall see, he was successful.

Tidings of the victory made known in Medîna.

From Otheil, Mahomet had despatched Zeid and Abdallah ibn Rowâha, the poet, to make known his victory at Medîna. From the valley of Ackîck, Abdallah struck off to the right, and spread the good tidings throughout Coba and Upper Medîna. Zeid, mounted on Al Caswa, proceeded straight to the city. The enemies of Mahomet, seeing his favourite camel approach without her master, prognosticated that he had been slain. But they were soon undeceived and crestfallen;‡ for Zeid, stopping at the

* This is explained to mean "deceit in not paying the ransom agreed upon;" but it seems an unlikely interpretation, as the ransom was ordinarily paid down on the spot. It may be a significant intimation that those who came over to Islam would be released without ransom;—the deceit contemplated being a treacherous confession of faith followed by desertion to Mecca.

† viii. 70-74.

‡ The Jews, and their adherents from amongst the disaffected families of Medîna, are represented as casting in the teeth of the Believers that their Prophet was dead, and jeering at them; but it is not likely that it was yet known at Medîna (as these traditions imply) that an army had marched from Mecca. Mahomet himself only knew this on the Thursday night, and these messengers having left shortly after the battle, and travelled rapidly, would bring the first intelligence of it. The impression at Medîna

place of prayer, near the entrance of the city, cried aloud that the Coreish had been overthrown; and then enumerated by name the chief men of Mecca who had been slain or taken prisoners. The joy of the Prophet's adherents was unbounded; and as the news ran from door to door, even the little children caused the streets to resound with the cry, *Abu Jahl, the sinner, is slain!*

Mahomet's return; death of his daughter Rockeya.

The next day, Mahomet himself arrived. His gladness was damped by finding that his daughter Rockeya had died and been buried during his absence. They had just smoothed the earth over her tomb in the graveyard of Backî, as Zeid entered Medîna. Othmân had watched tenderly over her death-bed; and Mahomet sought to solace him; by uniting him in marriage, a few months later, to his remaining single daughter, Omm Kolthûm. Like Rockeya, she had been married to a cousin, the son of Abu Lahab, but had for some time been separated from him.* She died a year or two before

could only have been that a conflict had occurred between Mahomet and the convoy of the caravan—not so dangerous an affair as to justify the following kind of speech (which is any how improbable in itself):—"Here cometh Zeid! His comrades have been dispersed, and will never again rally. Mahomet hath been killed, for this is his camel. Zeid is so terrified by his flight that he talketh madly," &c. Zeid's son, Osâma, is represented as threatening to strike off the head of one who taunted him in this way.

We must be on our guard as to the manner in which the Jews and Unbelievers of Medîna are treated by tradition, almost as much as against the way in which the Unbelievers of Mecca are spoken of. *Wâckidi*, 109.'''

* See vol. ii. p. 46. Mahomet affianced her in marriage in

Mahomet, who used, after her death, to say he so dearly loved Othmân, that had there been a third daughter, he would have given her also in marriage to him.*

In the evening, the prisoners were brought in.† Sauda had gone out to join in lamentation with the family of Afrâ, a citizen, who lost two sons at Badr. On her return, she found, standing by her house, Suheil, one of the prisoners, with his hands tied behind his neck.‡ Surprised at the sight, she offered to loose his hands, when she was startled by the voice of Mahomet, calling loudly from within "By the Lord and his Prophet! O Sauda, what art thou about to do?" She replied that she had addressed Suheil from an involuntary impulse. Yet Mahomet was far from intending to treat the prisoners whose lives he had spared with harshness.

The prisoners brought into Medîna:

Rabi, the first of the third year of the Hegira; and the marriage was celebrated a couple of months later, *i.e.* in the second Jumâd, or eight months after the battle of Badr. *Tabari*, 34.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 189.

† *Wâckidi*, 113. Other authorities say that they arrived a day before Mahomet.

‡ *Wâckidi*, 112. Perhaps greater stringency was used in his restraint, as he broke from his bonds on the road, and had nearly escaped. Mahomet gave orders to chase and kill him. Coming up with him himself, he spared his life, but bound his hands behind his neck, and tied him to his camel. Usâma met Mahomet entering Medîna with Suheil in this condition, and exclaimed,—"What! Abu Yazid!" (Suheil's name). "Yes," said Mahomet, "it is the same,—the Chief who used to feed the people with bread at Mecca." *Wâckidi*, 111.

He rather hoped, by a kind and courteous demeanour, to win their affections and draw them over to the Faith. Omm Salmâ was, with the other women from Mecca, lamenting at the house of Afra, when she was told that some of the prisoners had been brought to her house. She first proceeded to Mahomet, whom she found in the apartment of Ayesha, and thus addressed him: "O Prophet! my uncle's sons desire that I should entertain certain of the prisoners, that I should anoint their heads, and comb their dishevelled hair; but I did not venture to do so until I had first obtained thine orders." Mahomet replied that he did not at all object to these marks of hospitality, and desired her to do as she had intended.*

They are treated kindly:

In pursuance of Mahomet's commands, the citizens of Medîna, and such of the Refugees as possessed houses, received the prisoners, and treated them with much consideration. "Blessings be on the men of Medina!" said one of these prisoners in later days; "they made us ride, while they themselves walked: they gave us wheaten bread to eat when there was little of it, contenting themselves with dates." It is not surprising that when, some time after, their friends came to ransom them, several

---

* *Wâckidi*, 111. *Tabari*, 298. For Omm Salmâ, see vol. ii. 106. One or two years after, on her husband's death, Mahomet married this lady.

of the prisoners who had been thus received declared themselves adherents of Islam; and to such the Prophet granted liberty, without the usual payment.* It was long before the Coreish could reconcile themselves to the humiliation of visiting Medîna to arrange for the liberation of their relatives. Their tender treatment was thus prolonged, and left a favourable impression on the minds even of those who did not at once go over to Islam. Eventually, the army of Badr was enriched by the large payments made for the prisoners; for they were redeemed according to their several means,—some paying a thousand, and others as much as four thousand dirhems. Such as had nothing to pay, were liberated without ransom; but a service was first required of them, which shows how far Mecca was in advance of Medîna in learning. To each prisoner were allotted ten boys, who were to be taught the art of writing; and their tuition, when completed, was accepted as a full ransom.†

And ransomed from Mecca.

The battle of Badr was one of the critical points in the life of Mahomet. However skilful in turning the incident of the day, whether favourable or not,

The victory divine declaration in favour of Islam.

* See two instances at pp. 136, 137 of Wâckidi. In one of these cases the conversion was probably hastened by the mortification of the prisoner Walîd, grandson of Mughîra, at finding his brother haggling about the price demanded. It is curious to trace the various motives which inclined men towards Islam.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 101½. Zeid ibn Thâbit, the poet, is said to have learned writing in this way. *C. de Perceval*, iii. 74.

into a proof of the Divine interposition for the furtherance of Islam, the Prophet would have found it difficult on the present occasion to maintain his position at Medîna in the face of any reverse. The victory now supplied him with new and cogent arguments. He did not hesitate to ascribe the entire success to the miraculous assistance of God; and this was the easier, in consequence of the superior numbers of the Coreish. I have already quoted some passages from the Coran to this effect.

Angelic auxiliaries.

The presence of an Angelic host, a thousand strong, actively engaged against the enemy, was gravely asserted by the Prophet, who pretended to have received the following revelation on the subject:—

"When ye sought assistance from your Lord; and he answered, *Verily, I will assist you with a thousand Angels, following one upon another;*—this the Lord did as good tidings for you, and that your hearts might be thereby reassured. As for victory, it is from none other than God: for God is Glorious and Wise."*

And about a year after, or perhaps later:—

"Verily there hath been given unto you a Sign in the two Armies which fought. One Army fought in the way of God. The other was unbelieving, and saw their enemy double of themselves by the sight of the eye. And God strengtheneth with his aid whom he pleaseth. Verily, therein is a lesson unto the discerning people."†

"And ye slew them not, but God slew them. And, thou (O Prophet) didst not cast (the gravel); but God cast it; that he might prove the believers by a gracious probation from himself. Verily, God heareth and knoweth.

* *Sura*, viii. 9, 10. † *Sura*, iii. 13.

"It was even so. And God weakeneth the devices of the Infidels.

"If ye desire a Decision, truly the Decision* hath already come unto you. If ye hold back, it will be better for you; but if ye return, WE also shall return. And your troops will not avail you anything, even though they be many in number; for surely God is with the Believers."†

The Devil forced to abandon the Coreish.

Furthermore, not only was Divine aid afforded to the army of Medîna, but the help which Satan had designed for the army of Mecca was signally frustrated:—

"Be not like those who went forth from their habitations vain-gloriously and to be seen of men, and turned aside from the way of God: and God compasseth about that which they do.

"And (remember) when Satan bedecked their works for them, and said,—*None shall prevail this day against you; for I verily am your Confederate.* But when the two Armies came within sight of each other, he turned back upon his heels, and said,—*Verily I am clear of you. Truly I see that which ye do not see. I fear God, for God is Terrible in vengeance.*"‡

---

* "*Al Fath;*" signifying either *Decision* or *Victory.*

† *Sura*, viii. 16-18.

‡ *Ibid.* 49, 50. As may be imagined, these passages have given rise to endless legends. The Devil, as usual, was in the form of Surâca. This man was seen running away from the field of battle, and was taxed with it by the Coreish—while all the time it was the Devil! We have gravely given to us the circumstantial evidence of a witness regarding the Devil's behaviour, his jumping into the sea, what he said on that occasion, &c. *Wâckidi*, 69, 70. As to the angels, we have pages filled with accounts of them;—such as that one of the enemy suddenly perceived a tall white figure in the air, mounted on a piebald horse: this angel having bound him, left him on the spot a prisoner; and this was the cause of his conversion. But it would be endless and unprofitable to multiply such tales. *Wâckidi*, 70 to 76.

Mahomet now stands or falls by his success in the field.

The cause of Mahomet, it was now distinctly admitted, must stand or fall by the result of the armed struggle, on which he had fairly entered, with his native city. It was, no doubt, difficult and dangerous ground for a fallible mortal to stand upon; but the die was cast, and the battle must be fought out to the death. The scabbard having been thrown away, little additional risk was incurred by the founder of Islam when he made success in arms the criterion of his prophetical claim. His position, however otherwise strong, could not be maintained in the face of defeat; however weak, a succession of victories would establish it triumphantly.

Number of chief Coreish killed at Badr.

There was much in the battle of Badr which Mahomet could plausibly represent as a special interposition of the Deity in his behalf. Not only was a most decisive victory gained over a force three times his own in number, but the slain on the enemy's side included, in a most remarkable manner, many of his influential opponents.* In addition to the chief men killed or made prisoners,

* The following is the long list of men of mark who were either killed or taken captive:—

Killed.—Shaiba and Otba, great-grandsons of Abd Shams; Walîd; Al Aas ibn Saîd; Abu Jahl; Ab ul Bokhtari; Hantzala, son of Abu Sofiân; Al Hârith, great grandson of Abd Menâf; Tueima ibn Adî; Zamâa; Nowfal ibn Khuweilid; Al Aas ibn Hâshim; Munabbih ibn al Hajjâj; Mâbad; Nadhr; Ocba; Omeya, and his son Ali, &c.

Prisoners.—Nowfal, grandson of Almuttalib; Ockeil, son of Abu Tâlib; Abul Aas; Adî ibn al Kheari; Amr, son of Abu

Abu Lahab, who was not present in the battle, died a few days after the return of the fugitive army,—as if the decree marking out the enemies of the Prophet was certain and inevitable.*

Consternation and thirst for revenge at Mecca.

At Mecca itself, the news of the defeat was received with consternation. Shame and a burning desire for revenge stifled the expression of grief. "Weep not for your slain;" such was the counsel of Abu Sofiân. "Bewail not their loss; neither let the bard mourn for them. Show that ye are men and heroes! If ye wail and lament, and mourn over them with elegies, it will ease your wrath and diminish your enmity towards Mahomet and his fellows. Moreover, if that reach our enemies' ears, and they laugh at us, will not their scorn be the severest calamity of all? Perchance ye may yet obtain your revenge. As for me, I will touch no oil, neither approach any woman, until I go forth to war against Mahomet." It was the same savage pride which so long prevented their sending to Medîna for the ransom of their captive kinsmen.†

Sofiân; Abu Ozeir; Walîd, grandson of Mughîra; Abdallah ibn Obeya; Abu Ozza, the poet; Wahb ibn Omeir; Abu Widâa; Soheil ibn Amr, &c.

* Abasside traditions add that his death was caused by malignant and infectious ulcers; that he remained two days unburied, as no one would approach the offensive corpse; that he was not washed, but that water was cast from a distance on his body, which was then raised, and cast into a well in Upper Mecca, and stones heaped over the well. *Tabari*, 302. The bias is palpable.

† The first that went was Al Muttalib, who, being weary of the delay made by the Coreish, set off covertly to ransom his

Wailing for the dead.

A month elapsed thus; and they could refrain no longer. The wild demonstrations of Asiatic grief burst forth at last from the whole city. In almost every house there were cries and wailing for the captive or the dead. And this lasted an entire month.* There was one exception: —"Why sheddest thou no tears," said they to Hind, the wife of Abu Sofiân. "Why weep not for thy father

---

father, Abu Wadâa. The Coreish abused him on his return,—Abu Sofiân saying that he would not send to ransom his own son Amr, even if Mahomet kept him for a whole year. Amr was eventually exchanged by Mahomet for one of his followers who, having incautiously gone to Mecca on the Lesser Pilgrimage, was there arrested. *Wâckidi*, 118, 125, 134; *Tabari*, 307.

* A plaintive illustration of the force of pent-up grief is given by Wâckidi (p. 217) with all the pathos of Arab feeling. The blind and aged Aswad had lost two sons and a grandson in the battle. Like the rest of the Coreish, he sternly repressed his grief; but as days rolled on, he longed to give vent to his feelings. One night he heard the wild notes of a female wailing, and he said to his servant: "Go see! it may be that the Coreish have begun to wail for their dead: perchance, I too, may wail for Zamâa, my son; for grief consumeth me within." The servant returned, saying, that it was but the voice of a woman lamenting for her strayed camel. On this the old man gave way to a burst of beautiful and impassioned poetry. "Doth she weep for her camel, and for it banish sleep from her eyes? Nay, if ye will weep, let us weep over Badr:—Weep for Ockeil, and Hâarith, the lion of lions!" &c.:—

تبكى ان يضل لها بعير * و يمنعها من النوم السهود
فلا تبكى على بكر و لكن * على بدر تصاغرت الى‌رود
فبكى ان بكيت على عقيل * و بكى حارثا اسد الاسود
و بكيهم و لا يسى جميعا * و ما لابى حكيمد من نديد الخ

Otba, for thy brother, and thine uncle?" "Nay," replied Hind, "I will not weep until ye again wage war with Mahomet and his fellows. If weeping would wash away grief from my heart, I would weep even as ye; but it is not thus." To mark her sullen sorrow, she foreswore to use oil for her hair, or to go near the bed of Abu Sofiân, until an army should march forth against Medîna.*

* *Wâckidi*, 117; *Tabari*, 303. Hind (as we shall see) is represented as a Fury at the battle of Ohod; but the tendency of tradition is to *overdraw* her rancour. The traditionists always needed a foil of this sort. Abu Jahl, and others of his stamp, were gone. Hind, and, in a less degree, her husband Abu Sofiân, take their place.

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

The year following the battle of Badr. Ramadhân, A.H. II., *to Shabân;* A.H. III.—A.D. 624.

Ætat. 56.

Battle of Badr followed by an early movement against the Jews.

THE triumph at Badr, and consequent consolidation of the power of Mahomet over his adherents at Medîna, was followed by an almost immediate movement against the Jews, and other inhabitants who ventured to dispute his claims, and gainsay the authority of his pretended revelation.*

Assassination of Asma, daughter of Marwân. Ramadhân, A.H. II. January, 624.

The first blood shed at Medîna with the countenance of Mahomet was that of a woman. Asma, daughter of Marwân, belonged to the Bani Aws, and to a family which had not thrown off their ancestral faith. She made no secret of her dislike to Islam; and, being a poetess, composed some

* At the risk of repetition, I must again draw attention to the importance of bearing in mind, at this stage of the history, that tradition in respect of these Jews is *exclusively one-sided.* They were *all* (with exception of the few gained over to Islam, and therefore lost as witnesses) either expatriated or exterminated. They are reproached in the severest terms in the Coran; every Moslem, therefore, believes it a merit and a privilege to cast abuse upon them. It would be vain to expect impartial evidence from such a source. Vol. i. p. lviii. *Canon* I. H.

couplets, after the battle of Badr, on the folly of her fellow citizens in receiving and trusting one who had slain the chief men amongst his own people. The verses spread from mouth to mouth (for such was one of the few means possessed by the Arabs of giving expression to public opinion*), and at last reached the ears of the Mussulmans. They were offended, and Omeir, a blind man of the same tribe, vowed that he would kill the author. It was but a few days after the return of Mahomet from Badr, that this man, in the dead of night, crept into the apartment where, surrounded by her little ones, Asma lay asleep. Feeling stealthily with his hand, he removed her infant from her breast, and plunged his sword with such force into her bosom that it passed through her back. Next morning, being present in the Mosque at prayers, Mahomet, who seems to have been aware of the bloody design,† said to Omeir, "Hast thou slain the daughter of Marwân?" "Yes," he answered; "but tell me now is there any cause of apprehension for what I have done?" "None whatever," said Mahomet; "two

* Couplets, if happily composed, on any topic of general interest, spread abroad like wild-fire. They performed the part of the press in our days, by giving expression to public opinion, and on critical occasions, often played an important part in forming it. Mahomet greatly dreaded the satires of his enemies, and not unfrequently employed poets for a similar purpose on his own side.

† Hishâmi says that Mahomet, being vexed by Asma's verses, said publicly, "Who will rid me of this woman?" which speech, overheard by Omeir, led to the assassination.

goats will not knock their heads together for it."* Then turning to the people assembled in the Mosque, he said, "If ye desire to see a man that hath assisted the Lord and his Prophet, look ye here!" "What!" Omar exclaimed, "the blind Omeir!" Nay," replied the Prophet, "call him not blind; rather call him *Omeir the seeing.*"†

As the assassinator returned to his home in Upper Medîna, he passed the sons of Asma burying their mother; they accused him of the murder, which without compunction he avowed, and added that if they dared to repeat things such as she had uttered, he would slay the whole family in the same manner. This fierce threat had the desired effect. Those of the Bani Khatma (the tribe to which the husband of Asma belonged) who had secretly espoused the cause of Mahomet, now openly professed their adherence, and the whole tribe succumbed before the determination and growing influence of the Prophet's followers.

And of Abu Afak.

Many weeks did not elapse before another foul murder was committed by the express command of

* Meaning that it was a matter of trifling import.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 103; *Wâckidi*, 172; *Hishâmi*, 452. Asma belonged to the Bani Omeya ibn Zeid, and was married into the Bani Khatma, both branches of the Bani Aus Allah—a tribe one of the last of the Ausites to acknowledge Mahomet. See vol. ii. p. 219, *note;* and *C. de Perceval*, v. iii. p. 5.

I do not find any authority for Weil's statement (p. 117, *note* 154) that her father was a Jew. If, as that note states, Omeir was a former husband of Asma, there was private enmity in the murder, which would make it all the more criminal.

Mahomet.* A Jew, named Abu Afak, lived in the suburbs of Medîna, with the Bani Amr. Though he had reached, it is said, the great age of twice three score years, he was active in his opposition to the new religion. He, too, composed some stinging verses which annoyed the Mussulmans; and the Prophet signified his wish for his assassination by saying to his followers,—"Who will rid me of this pestilent fellow?" A convert from amongst the Bani Amr watched his opportunity, and falling unawares upon the aged man, as he slept outside his house, despatched him with one blow of his sword. The death shriek of the Jew drew the neighbours to the spot; but though they vowed vengeance against the murderer, he escaped unrecognized.† Shawwâl, A.H. II. February, 624.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 103 and 274½; *Wâckidi*, 174; *Hishâmi*, 452. The Secretary of Wâckidi says distinctly,—"Now this was by command of the Prophet." Hishâmi states that Mahomet, when annoyed by Abu Afak's satires, used the expression in the text, which is equivalent to a command.

The assassination is said to have occurred in Shawwal (the month after the battle of Badr), but before the attack on the Bani Cainucâa—which would be February. Another account states that Sâlim, the murderer, waited till the hot weather, when the old man used to sleep outside his house, which would make it later in the season.

† Hishâmi is apparently in error, when he says that Abu Afak began to display his enmity against Islam from the time that Mahomet put to death Hârith, son of the poet Suweid ibn Sâmit. (See vol. i. p. ccxxxiii. *note*.) Hârith was executed because at the battle of Ohod he treacherously slew the murderer of his father,—an event which did not happen till a year later. *Wâckidi*, 287½. Hishâmi also makes the enmity of Asma to be caused by the assassination of Abu Afak,—while the most reliable accounts place her murder first.

Alarm of the Jews.

These lawless and perfidious acts alarmed all that party at Medîna, which still regarded the strangers and their new faith with suspicion or dislike. Terror crept over the hearts of the Jews. There was good reason for it.

The Bani Cainucâa threatened by Mahomet.

The Bani Cainucâa, who lived in a strongly built suburb, were the first of the Jewish tribes against which hostile measures were taken. The biographers assert that the Jews rebelled and broke their treaty. How the breach first occurred is not altogether certain. It is said that Mahomet went to their chief place of resort, shortly after his return from Badr; and, having assembled them together, summoned them to acknowledge him as their Prophet.—"By the Lord!" he said, "ye know full well that I am the Apostle of God. Believe, therefore, before that happen to you which has befallen the vanquished Coreish!" They refused, and defied him to do his worst.* An incident soon occurred which afforded the pretext for an attack. An Arab girl, married to a convert of Medîna, went to the shop of a goldsmith in the market-place of the Cainucâa, where waiting for some ornaments, she sat down. A silly neighbour, unperceived, pinned the lower hem of her skirt behind to the upper dress. When she arose, the awkward exposure excited laughter, and she screamed with shame. A Mussulman, being apprised of the affront, slew

Quarrel between them and the men of Medîna.

* Wâckidi (p. 178) distinctly makes this occurrence to precede the insult offered to the Arab girl.

the offending Jew; the brethren of the Jew, in their turn, fell upon the Mussulman and despatched him. The family of the murdered Mussulman appealed to the converts of Medîna, who espoused their cause. Mahomet made no attempt to compose the quarrel, nor any demand that the guilty should be singled out and brought to justice. Without farther communication with the Jews, he marshalled his followers, and placing the great white banner in the hands of Hamza, marched forth to attack the offending tribe. Their settlement was sufficiently fortified to resist the rude assault. It was therefore invested, and a strict blockade maintained. This happened within one month from the battle of Badr.*

They are besieged. Middle of Shawwâl, A.H. II. February, 624 A.D.

The Bani Cainucâa were besieged closely by Mahomet for fifteen days, when, despairing of the aid which they had looked for from their Khazraj allies, they surrendered at discretion.† As, one by one, they issued from the stronghold, their hands were

They surrender at discretion, and are sent into exile.

* *Wâckidi*, 177; *Hishâmi*, 256; *S. Wâckidi*, 103. The story of the Arab girl and murder of the Mussulman, is entirely omitted by the Secretary of Wâckidi; which is the more remarkable, as it is given by Wâckidi himself in detail in the "Campaigns." The Secretary simply says, that after the victory of Badr, the Bani Cainucâa, out of jealousy and enmity, broke the treaty, whereupon was revealed v. 61, *Sura*, viii.—*If thou fearest treachery from any people, reject their treaty*, &c. But that passage is generally held not to have been given forth till three years later, when the Bani Coreitza were attacked. Wâckidi himself gives this latter tradition as an alternative one. Altogether, the case against the Bani Cainucâa is weak and unsatisfactory in the extreme.

† Some traditions note, as the condition of surrender, that their property was to be given up, but their wives and children spared;

tied behind their backs, and preparations made for execution.* But Abdallah ibn Obey, the Khazrajite, could not endure to see his faithful allies led thus away to be massacred in cold blood.† Approaching Mahomet, he begged for mercy to be shown them; but Mahomet turned his face away. Abdallah persisted in his suit, and seizing the Prophet by the side, as he stood armed in his coat of mail, reiterated the petition. "Let me alone!" cried Mahomet; but Abdallah did not relax his hold. The marks of anger mantled in the Prophet's face, and again he exclaimed loudly, "Wretch, let me go!" "Nay!" said Abdallah, "I will not let thee go, until thou hast compassion on my friends; 300 soldiers armed in mail, and 400 unequipped,—they defended me on the fields of Hadâick and Boâth from every foe. Wilt thou cut them down in one day, O Mahomet? As for me, I am one verily that feareth the vicissitudes of fortune." Abdallah was yet too strong for Ma-

but if, as would appear, their own lives were not guaranteed, conditions of any kind would seem out of place.

* The capital sentence that awaited them is distinctly stated by Tabari (p. 325) on the authority of Wâckidi, and of Muhammad ibn Sâlih, derived through Omar ibn Cûtada. The same also appears from Wackidi's "Campaigns," p. 179, where it is stated that Mahomet, at the remonstrance of Abdallah, "released the prisoners *from death.*"

† See vol. i. p. ccxxxiv. They had expected him to interfere in their behalf with an armed force; but Abdallah probably found that his authority had been already too greatly sapped to enable him successfully to contend with Mahomet.

homet with safety to neglect the appeal so urgently preferred. "Let them go!" he said sullenly; "God curse them, and God curse him also!" So Mahomet released them from death, and commanded that they should be sent into exile.* They were conducted forth by Obâda ibn Sâmit, one of the Khazrajite *Leaders*, as far as Dzobâb; thence they proceeded to Wâdi al Cora, and being assisted there by the Jewish inhabitants with carriage, reached Adzraât, a territory on the confines of Syria.

The spoil consisted mainly of armour and gold- The spoil.
smiths' tools, for that was the chief occupation of the tribe; they possessed no agricultural property, nor any fields. Mahomet took his choice of the arms,—three bows, three swords, and two coats of mail. The royal fifth was then set aside, and the remainder distributed amongst the army.

The Jews might now see clearly the designs of Mahomet respecting them. It was no petty question of an affronted female. Blood had no doubt been shed in the quarrel; but it was shed equally on both

Effect of these extreme measures on the Jews and disaffected.

* The scene between Abdallah and Mahomet is in all our authorities. Wâckidi has also another tradition, that Abdallah, having subsequently gone to Mahomet's house to intercede for the Cainucâa, and beg that they might be allowed to remain, was there maltreated by Oweim ibn Saida, who drove him against the wall, so that he retired with his face scarred; but the story looks like an invention—for every opportunity is eagerly taken of abusing Abdallah. The tale is not given in the other biographies. It is evident, that on this occasion at least, Abdallah had the better of Mahomet, who was afraid of him, and cowered before his peremptory and threatening attitude.

sides. And had there not been a deadly enmity, and a predetermination to root out the Israelites, the difference might easily have been composed. Indeed, of such minor importance was the quarrel, that some biographers do not mention it at all, but justify the attack by a pretended revelation from Heaven of treachery to be apprehended from the Bani Cainucâa. The violent proceedings of Mahomet widened also to some extent the breach between his followers and the disaffected citizens. Abdallah upbraided Obâda (they were both principals in the confederacy with the Cainucâa,) for the part he had taken in abandoning their allies, and aiding in their exile:—"What! art thou free from the oath with which we ratified their alliance? Hast thou forgotten how they stood by us, and shed for us their blood, on such and such a day?"—and he began enumerating the engagements in which they had fought together. Obâda cut him short with the decisive answer,—"Hearts have changed. Islam hath blotted all treaties out."*

The affair of *Al Sawick*, a petty attack by Abu Sofiân. Dzul Hijj. A.H. II. April, A.D. 624.

After the expulsion of the Bani Cainucâa, Medîna enjoyed a month of repose. It was then thrown into alarm by a petty inroad of the Coreish. Abu Sofiân, smarting under the defeat at Badr, and still bound by his oath of abstinence,† resolved, by way

* *K. Wâckidi*, 103; *Wâckidi*, 174; *Hishâmi*, 247; *Tabari*, 324. Some place the siege of the Cainucâa after the affair of *Sawîck*.

† For the oath, see above p.127. In connection with this attack, Wâckidi and his Secretary mention only the vow to abstain from

of revenge, to beard his enemies at their very doors. Setting out with two hundred mounted followers,* he took the eastern road skirting the table land of Najd, and arrived by night at the settlement of the Bani Nadhîr, a Jewish tribe, who lived close to Medîna. Refused admittance by their chief, Huwey, he repaired to Sallâm (Abu Râfi), another leading man of the same tribe, who furnished him with intelligence regarding Medîna, and hospitably entertained the party during the night. When the dawn was about to break, Abu Sofiân moved stealthily forward, and fell upon the corn fields and palm gardens of Oreidh,† a place two or three miles to the north-east of Medîna. Some of these, with their farm-houses, he burned to the ground, and killed two of the cultivators. Then, holding his vow to be fulfilled, he hurried back to Mecca. Meanwhile, the alarm was raised in Medîna, and Mahomet hastened, at the head of the citizens, in pursuit. To accelerate their flight, the Coreish cast away their wallets filled with meal,‡ which were

oil. Hishâmi, on the authority of Ibn Ishâc, says that he vowed he would use no water as an ablution for uncleanness. This has been urged as a proof that washing for ceremonial impurity was current amongst the heathen Arabs before Islam. If so, the practice may have been borrowed from the Jews; but the passage in Hishâmi carries no great weight.

* Some other traditions say forty followers only.

† See vol. i, p. ccxxxiv.

‡ *Wâckidi*, 182. جرب السويق —meaning their road provisions generally;—وهى عامة زادهم ; whence the name of this

picked up by the pursuers. After an absence of five days, Mahomet returned from the fruitless chase. And shortly after, he celebrated the first festival of the *Eed al Zoha*, which I have described above.

Expedition to Carcarat al Cadr, against the Bani Ghatafân and Suleim. Moharram, A.H. III. May, A.D. 624.

During the summer and autumn, two or three expeditions of inferior interest were undertaken against the nomad tribes of Suleim and Ghatafân, who inhabited the plains of Najd, to the east of Medîna. They were descended from a common stock with the Coreish,* and were probably incited by them, or at least by the example of Abu Sofiân, to project a plundering attack upon Medîna, a task in itself congenial with their predatory habits. Timely intelligence reached Medîna that they had begun to assemble at Carcarat al Cadr; Mahomet, anticipating their design, hastened to surprise them, at the head of 200 men. On reaching the spot he found it deserted; but a herd of five hundred camels, securely feeding, under charge of a single boy, fell into his hands, and were divided as spoil of war.

---

attack, *Sawîck*. Burton derives *Suweikah*, a valley some twenty miles on the road towards Yenbo and Mecca, from this incident. But Abu Sofiân would seem to have taken the eastern road also on his return, as Mahomet is said to have pursued him as far as Carcarat al Cadr, a station of the Bani Suleim, noticed in the next paragraph. Of *Sawick*, Burton writes,—"This is the old and modern Arabic name for a dish of green grain, toasted, pounded, mixed with dates or sugar, and eaten on journies when it is found difficult to cook." Vol. ii. 19.

* See the *table* at p. ccxxiv. vol. i. The Bani Ghatafân were divided into many branches, some of which, as the Bani Murra and Fezâra, continued long to alarm Mahomet with threatened attacks.

The herd boy was made captive, but afterward released on his professing belief in Mahomet.*

Second expedition against the B. Ghatafân, to Dzu Amr. 1st Rabi, A.H. III. June, A.D. 624;

A month later, the Bani Ghatafân were reported to be collecting troops at Dzu Amr, in Najd. Having assembled a strong force of four hundred and fifty men, some of them mounted on horses, Mahomet again proceeded to disperse them. In three or four marches he reached Dzu Amr; but the enemy, having notice of his approach, had retired to the tops of the hills, and secured in the fastnesses their families and cattle. One of the enemy, whom he met on the road, and employed as a guide, was converted and spared as before. In effecting this demonstration Mahomet was absent eleven days.†

and against the B. Suleim, to Bohrân. 1st Jumâd, A.H. III. August, A.D. 624.

In the autumn Mahomet led another attack, at the head of three hundred followers, against the Bani Suleim. Arrived at their rendezvous, he found that the force had broken up. So, after staying a few days at Bohrân, he returned without meeting the enemy.‡

Zeid plunders a Coreishite caravan at al Carada. 2nd Jumâd, A.H. III. September, A.D. 624.

The following month was marked by a more successful affair. The Coreish, finding the sea-shore closely watched by Mahomet, and the tribes on the road by Yenbo in league with him, dared not expose their merchandize to the perils of that route.

---

* *K. Wâckidi*, 103½; *Wâckidi*, 182; *Tabari*, 331; *Hishâmi*, 246.

† *Wâckidi*, 193, gives the stages thus—Al Mackka; the defile at Khubeit; Dzul Cassa; Dzu Amr.

‡ Authorities as before.

They were reduced to great straits. "If we sit still at home," they said, "we shall be eating up our capital; how can we live, unless we maintain uninterrupted our winter and our summer caravans? We are shut out from the coast; let us try the eastern road by Irâc." Accordingly they equipped a caravan to traverse the table land of the central desert.* It was headed by Safwân, and the Coreish sent much property with him for barter, chiefly in vessels and bars of silver. Furât, an Arab guide, promised to lead them by a way unknown to the followers of Mahomet; but intelligence of this rich venture, and of the road which it was to take, reached the Prophet through an Arab, who chanced to visit the Jewish tribes at Medîna;† and Zeid, the son of Hârith, was immediately despatched in pursuit, with one hundred picked and well-mounted men. He came up with the caravan, and fell suddenly upon it. The leaders of the Coreish fled, the rest were overpowered, and all the merchandize and silver were carried off, with one or two prisoners, by Zeid, to Medîna. The

* There is a great scarcity of water by this route; but the summer was now passed, and water could moreover be carried on camels between the distant wells.

† He belonged to the Bani Ashjâ, a sub-tribe of the Ghatafân, who appear all to have been hostile to Mahomet. He visited the Bani Nadhîr at Medîna. Kinâna, a chief of that tribe, set wine before him, and they drank in company with Suleit ibn Nomân, a believer (for wine was not then forbidden); they became intoxicated, when the Arab divulged the secret, and it was immediately conveyed by Suleit to Mahomet. *Wâckidi*, 197.

booty was valued at one hundred thousand dirhems; so that, after appropriation of the Prophet's fifth, eight hundred dirhems fell to the lot of each soldier. Furât, the guide, was brought to Mahomet, who promised him liberty without ransom, if he would believe. He embraced Islam, and was set free.*

Assassination, by Mahomet's command, of Káb, the son of Ashraf. 1st Rabi, A.H. III. July, A.D. 624.

No further expedition was undertaken during this year; but I must not omit to notice another of those foul and dastardly assassinations, which darken the pages of this history. Káb ibn Ashraf was the son of a Jewess of the Bani Nadhîr, and with that tribe he appears to have identified himself. The victory of Badr deeply mortified him, in common with other ill-wishers of the Prophet. He made no attempt to conceal his discontent; and soon after proceeded to Mecca, where, being a poet, he stirred up the Coreish to avenge their heroes buried in the well of Badr, by elegies lamenting their hard fate. On his return to Medîna he is further accused of disquieting the Mussulmans, by the publication of amatory sonnets addressed to their women,—a curious and favourite mode of annoyance amongst the Arabs.† Mahomet, apprehensive that the free expression of hostile feeling by persons of such influence as Káb, would sap his authority at Medîna,

* Both Wâckidi and his Secretary say that he was "*set free from the sentence of death*," which apparently would otherwise have been executed on him, but for what special reason is not apparent. *Ibid. K. Wâckidi*, 105; *Hishâmi*, 248; *Tabari*, 341.

† The following couplets by Káb, in praise of Omm al Fadhl

made no secret of his animosity towards Káb. He prayed aloud,—"*Oh Lord, deliver me from the son of Ashraf, in whatsoever way it seemeth good unto thee, because of his open sedition and his verses.*"* But instead of adopting an honourable and straightforward course, he prompted his followers, as on previous occasions, to assassination, by saying to them,—"Who will ease me of the son of Ashraf? for he troubleth me." Mohammad, the son of Maslama, replied,—"Here am I;—I will slay him." Mahomet, signifying his approval, desired him to take counsel with the chief of his tribe, Sád ibn Moâdz. By the advice of Sád, the conspirator having chosen four other men from the Bani Aws as his accomplices, took them to Mahomet, and obtained his sanction to their plan of throwing the victim off

---

bint al Hârith, are quoted by the biographers, in support of the accusation:—

Alas, my heart! Wilt thou pass on? Wilt thou not tarry to praise her? Wilt thou leave Omm al Fadhl deserted?

Of saffron colour is she: so full of charms, that if thou wert to squeeze her, there would be pressed forth Wine, Henna, and Katam.†

She is so slim that her figure, from ankle to shoulder, bends as she desires to stand upright, and cannot.

When we met she caused me to forget (my own wife) Omm Hâlim, although the cord that bindeth me to her is not to be broken.

Sprung of the Bani Aamir, my heart is mad with the love of her; and if she chose she could cure Káb of his sickness.

She is the Princess of women; and her father is the Prince of his tribe, the Entertainer of strangers, the Fulfiller of promises.

I never saw the Sun come forth by night, until one dark evening she appeared unto me in her splendour.

Tabari, p. 335.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 104; *Wâckidi*, 186.

† Meaning, apparently, the elements of beauty, or the colours red, yellow, and black.

his guard by fair words and deceitful promises Abu Naila, the foster brother of Káb, was deputed to pave the way. He complained to Káb of the calamities and poverty which the advent of Mahomet had brought upon them, and begged that he would advance corn and dates for the sustenance of himself and a party like-minded with him. Káb, taken in the snare, demanded security; Abu Naila agreed that they should pledge their arms, and appointed a late hour of meeting at the house of Káb, when the bargain would be completed. Towards evening the band of conspirators assembled at the house of Mahomet. It was a bright moonlight night, and the Prophet accompanied them to the outskirts of the town. As they emerged from the low shrubs of the Moslem burying ground, he bade them God-speed; and, parting from them, called out, "Go! The blessing of God be with you, and assistance from on high!" Passing the valley of Oreidh, and several hamlets of Medîna and of Jewish citizens, they arrived about two or three miles north-east of the city, at the house of Káb. He had retired to rest. Abu Naila called aloud for him to come down, and Káb started from his couch. His bride (for he had been lately married, and the biographers delight to record every circumstance which adds to the cruelty and heartlessness of the affair) caught him by the skirt, and warned him not to go. "It is but my brother, Abu Naila," he said; and, as he pulled the garment from her, gaily added the verse,—"Shall a

warrior be challenged and not respond?" Descending, he was not alarmed to find the party armed, as the weapons were to be left with him in pledge. They wandered along, conversing on the misfortunes of Medîna, till they reached a waterfall,* and upon its bank they proposed to pass some part of the moonlight night. Meanwhile, his foster-brother, having thrown his arm around Káb, was familiarly drawing his hand through his long locks, and praising the sweet scent, which Káb said was that of his bride. Suddenly the traitor seized his hair, and dragging him to the ground, shouted,—"*Slay him! Slay the Enemy of God!*" All drew their swords, and fell upon their victim. The wretched man clung to his foster-brother so closely that he was with difficulty put to death. As he received the fatal wound he uttered a fearful scream, which resounded far and near amongst the strongholds of the Jews; and lights were seen at the windows of the affrighted inhabitants. The assassins, fearful of pursuit, retired in haste, carrying in their arms one of their number who had received two deep sword cuts aimed at Káb. As they regained the burying ground, they uttered a loud *Takbîr*,† which Mahomet heard, and knew that their work had been successfully accomplished. At the gate of the Mosque he met them, saying,—"Welcome; for your countenances beam with the joy of victory." "And thine also, O

* *Sharj al ájûz;* Wâckídi. Tabari calls it *Sháb al ajuz.*

† "*Allahu Akbar:*" "Great is the Lord."

Prophet," they exclaimed, as they threw before him the ghastly head of their victim. Then Mahomet praised God for what had been done, and comforted the wounded man.*

Reflections on the story of Káb's assassination.

I have been thus minute in transcribing the record of the murder of Káb, because it faithfully illustrates the ruthless fanaticism into which Mahomet was fast drifting. It was a spirit too congenial with the passions of the Arabs not to be immediately caught up by his followers. The strong religious impulse, under which they always acted, untempered as it was by the divine graces and heaven-born morality of the Christian faith, hurried them into excesses of barbarous treachery, and justified that treachery by the interests of Islam and the direct approval of the Deity. I am far from asserting that every detail in the foregoing narrative, either of instigation by Mahomet, or of deception by the assassins, is beyond suspicion. The actors in such scenes were not slow to magnify and embellish their own services at the expense of truth.† There may also have been the desire to justify an act of perfidy, at which even the loose morality of the day was startled, by casting the burden of it on the infallible Prophet. But, after al-

* A sort of miracle is here described: Mahomet spat upon the wounds, and the pain departed. *Wâckidi*, 190.

† See *Canon*, II. B. vol. i. p. lx., and III. c. p. lxxxi. The feeling may be illustrated by a widely differing case—that of the judgment executed by Phineas,—"and that was counted unto him for righteousness unto all generations for evermore." *Psalm*, cvi. 31.

lowing all due weight to both of these considerations, enough remains to prove, in this case, the worst features of assassination, and the fact that they were directly countenanced, or rather prompted, by Mahomet himself.*

Murder of Ibn Sanîna, a Jew,

On the morning after the murder of Káb, Mahomet gave a general permission to his followers to slay any Jews whom they might chance to meet.†

* There can be little doubt that the less sturdy and unscrupulous faith of some lukewarm Moslems was at times scandalized by crimes like this; though it is not in the nature of one-sided tradition to preserve the record of what they said. The present is one of the few occasions on which the murmurs of the aggrieved parties have come to light. When Merwan was Governor of Medîna, he one day asked Benjamin, a convert from the Bani Nadhîr (Káb's tribe) in what manner Káb met his death. "By guile and perfidy," said Benjamin. Now Muhammad son of Maslama, by this time a very aged man, was sitting by: he exclaimed,—"What, O Merwan! could the Prophet of the Lord, thinkest thou, be guilty of perfidy? By the Lord! we did not kill him but by command of the Prophet. I swear that no roof, save that of the Mosque, shall cover thee and me at once." Then, turning to Benjamin, he swore that if he had had a sword in his hand, he would have cut off his head. The unfortunate Benjamin could not thenceforward quit his house without first sending a messenger to see that Muhammad was out of the way. His enemy caught him one day at a funeral in the Backî al Gharcad, and seizing a bundle of date branches from a woman passing by, broke them every one over the face and back of Benjamin. Thus were murmurers against the infallibility of the Prophet silenced in the early days of Islam. *Wâckidi*, 192.

† So, distinctly, in *Wâckidi*, 191; *K. Wâckidi*, 104; and *Hishâmi*, 251. So far as I can make out, the murder of Ibn Sanîna was the direct consequence of this order. But the order itself is a strange one, and must, one would suppose, have been accompanied by some conditions or reservations, not here appa-

Accordingly, Muheiasa, a Moslem, having encountered Ibn Sanîna, a Jewish merchant, slew him. The occurrence is alluded to by the biographers rather for the purpose of explaining the sudden conversion of the assassinator's brother, Huweisa, than to record the murder of a petty Jewish trader. When Huweisa upbraided Muheiasa for killing his confederate the Jew, and appropriating his wealth,—"By the Lord!" replied Muheiasa, "if he that commanded me to kill him had commanded to kill thee also, I would have done it." "What!" Huweisa cried; "wouldst thou have slain thine own brother at Mahomet's bidding?"—"Even so," answered the fanatic. "Strange indeed!" Huweisa responded. "Hath the new religion reached to this pitch! Verily, it is a wonderful Faith." And Huweisa was converted from that very hour.* The progress of Islam begins

causes the conversion of the murderer's brother.

---

rent. It was surely not expedient for the Prophet's cause at this time that the streets of Medîna should have flowed with blood, by the strict execution of this command. Yet such is the distinct tenor of the best traditions.

The order was not an unlikely one to have issued at a time when Mahomet was irritated against the Jews by their treachery; and Hishâmi has a tradition that it was promulgated when Mahomet directed the massacre of all the males of the Coreitza, which would have been the more likely version, if the other tradition had not been so strong and positive. Its words are:—

فلما اصبح رسول الله من الليلة التى قتل فيها ابن الاشرف
قال رسول من ظفر تم به من رجال يهود فا قتلو ه *

* *Wackîdi*, 191; *Tabari*, 339; *Hishâmi*, 251. The story does not occur in the Secretary's biography.

now to stand out in unenviable contrast with that of early Christianity. Converts were gained to the Faith of Jesus by witnessing the constancy with which its confessors suffered martyrdom; they were gained to Islam by the spectacle of the readiness with which its adherents inflicted death. In the one case conversion often imperilled the believer's life; in the other, it was the only means of saving it.

New treaty entered into with the Jews.

The Jews were now in extreme alarm. None ventured abroad. Every family lived in the fear of a night attack; every individual dreaded the fate of Kâb and Ibn Sanîna. A deputation of their principal men waited upon Mahomet, and complained that he had treacherously cut off their chief, without fault or apparent cause. "Had Kâb conducted himself," replied Mahomet, "as ye have done, he would not have been cut off. But he offended me by his seditious speeches and his evil poetry. And if any one amongst you," he added, "doeth the same, verily the sword shall again be unsheathed." At the same time he invited them to enter into a fresh compact with him, such as he might deem sufficient for the interests of Islam. They agreed, and a new treaty was written out and deposited with Ali. Nevertheless, adds Wâckidi, the Jews thenceforward lived, as well they might, in depression and alarm.*

* *Wâckidi*, 191; *K. Wâckidi*, 94½.

Mahomet marries Haphsa. Shâban, A.H. III. November, A.D. 624.

The winter months of the year 624 closed without any incident of political importance. But during this period, the Prophet took to himself a third wife, Haphsa, the daughter of Omar. She was the widow of Khoneis, an early convert, who had died six or seven months previously.* By marrying this widow, Mahomet not only gratified the passion for fresh espousals, which was becoming a characteristic feature of his advancing years, but bound closer his friendship with her father Omar. Abu Bakr and Omar were now connected equally with the Prophet, and through their daughters had close access to his ear. There was much rivalry between Ayesha and Haphsa; but the youth, vivacity, and beauty of the former maintained the supremacy.

* See vol. ii. p. 109. I may here notice what appears an error in Ibn Coteiba (Gottingen, 1850). In loco *Haphsa*, Khoneis is said to have been Mahomet's ambassador to the Persian Court, instead of his father Abdallah.

Of Haphsa, the ordinary story is that Omar first offered his widowed daughter in marriage to Abu Bakr, and then to Othmân; and that Mahomet hearing of it said,—"Othmân shall wed one better than Haphsa" (*i.e.* Omm Kolthûm, the Prophet's daughter); "and Haphsa shall marry one better than Othmân" (meaning himself.) But this is hardly borne out by dates. The previous husband of Haphsa died twenty-five months after Mahomet's flight from Mecca (*Wâckidi*, 227½), that is in Rabi 1st, A.H. III. or July-August, 624 A.D, the very month in which Othmân married Omm Kolthûm. Even if we were to calculate the twenty-five months from Moharram (the *nominal* date of the Hegira), it would make the death of Khoneis to occur in May-June; and even with the indecent haste of Mussulman remarriages, this leaves insufficient time for the intervening incidents. See *C. de Perceval*, iii. p. 89.

Birth of Mahomet's grandsons, Hasan and Hosein.

The marriages contracted by Mahomet at Medîna were all unfruitful. But meanwhile his family was built up in the female line of Khadija's progeny. At the close of the second year of his sojourn at Medîna, Fâtima, the Prophet's youngest daughter, was espoused by Ali. Within the next twelve months, she gave birth to Hasan, the first grandson born to Mahomet, and in the following year to Hosein, his brother.*

* Hasan was born in the middle of Ramadhân, A.H. IV. or January, 625 A.D. Hosein was born about eleven months after. *Tabari*, p. 399.

CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

The Battle of Ohod.

Shawwâl, A.H. III. *January*, A.D. 625.

Ætat 56.

The Coreish resolve to avenge their defeat at Badr.

THE year 625 A.D. opened stormily on Mahomet. Twelve months had elapsed since the battle of Badr. The cry of revenge ever since had resounded in the valley of Mecca; and the long suspended threat was now put into execution.

Mahomet receives intimation from his uncle Abbâs.

Rumours of preparation by the Coreish for a grand attack upon Medîna had for some time been reaching Mahomet: but the first authentic notice of the impending invasion was a sealed letter placed in his hands, while at the Mosque in Coba, by a messenger from Mecca. It was from his uncle Abbâs, who had engaged the courier, by a high reward, to deliver it in three days.* Obey, the son of Kâb, who was standing by, read the despatch aloud; it contained the startling news that the Coreish, three

* *K. Wâckidi*, 105; *Wâckidi*, 202. The latter professes to give a copy of the letter, but it is not reliable. In it Abbâs assures Mahomet that he had no hand in the enterprise. As usual, he was trying to hold with both sides.

thousand strong, were on the point of starting. Mahomet enjoined secrecy; but the tidings could not be suppressed. The prophet communicated them privately to Sád, son of Rabî, a "Leader" of the Bani Khazraj, and his wife overheard the conversation.* Whether thus, or otherwise, the coming attack was soon noised abroad, and caused great excitement, especially among the Jews and those who sympathized with them.

The Coreish march from Mecca: Ramadhân, A.H. III. Middle of January, 625.

The movement at Mecca did, indeed, justify alarm. The Coreish had unanimously agreed to devote the profits of the caravan, for which so much blood had been shed at Badr, towards avenging that defeat.† These amply sufficed for the equipment and provisioning of a great army. Emissaries were despatched amongst the Bedouin tribes, connected with the Coreish by alliance or descent, inviting them to join the enterprise. At length, near the

* *Wâckidi*, 203. Mahomet communicated the intelligence, in an inner chamber, to Sád, whose wife shortly after told him that she had heard it all. Sád seized her by the hair, and dragged her to Mahomet, who bade him let her go.

† The only exception is said to have been the Bani Zohra (who it will be remembered turned back from the battle of Badr); also the poorer citizens who owned but small ventures in the caravan. One version states that Abu Sofiân kept the caravan as it were in bond till the army was equipped from its proceeds; and that he himself excluded the Bani Zohra, because they had had no share in Badr. The gross value was 1,000 camels and 50,000 dirhems. One half constituted the profit; the other half, representing the principal, was returned to the several sharers. The chief expense of the campaign was in providing camels for consumption on the march. *Wâckidi*, 205.

close of Shawwâl or beginning of Ramadhan,* they commenced their march, three thousand in number; seven hundred were mailed warriors, and two hundred well-mounted cavalry.† The chiefs of the Coreish accompanied the force. Many took their women with them, who enkindled the fury of the army by verses, which were chanted to the stirring cadence of the timbrel, and which invoked vengeance on the Moslems for friends and kinsmen slain at Badr.‡ Foremost amongst these was Hind, the wife of Abu Sofiân, who, thirsting for the blood of Hamza, had engaged an Ethiopian, with his deadly javelin, to secure her victim.§ There was also with the army a band of Medîna citizens, under Abu Aamir "the Monk," who, it will be remembered, went over to Mecca in disgust at the enthusiastic reception of Mahomet, and now boasted that his presence in the ranks of the Coreish would of itself disarm the opposition of his fellow citizens.‖

* The chronology will be given in a note below.

† There were 3,000 camels. One hundred soldiers of the Bani Thackîf (of Tâyif) were with the army.

‡ The Secretary of Wâckidi mentions fifteen; and Wâckidi enumerates fourteen chief women. There were, no doubt, others of less note. Abu Sofiân took his two wives with him, Hind and Omeima. *Wâckidi*, 201.

§ She is represented as exhorting him, every time she passed, not to fail of his object. But there is a good deal of embellishment in the painting of her animosity. The Abasside traditionists rejoice in the blackest pictures of the house of Abu Sofiân. Wahshi, the Ethiopian, is also called "Abu Dusma," *the Negro*. *Tabari*, 353.

‖ See above, p. 27.

And encamp near Medîna. Thursday.

The Meccan army, taking the ordinary route by the sea-shore, after a march of ten days, reached Dzul Huleifa, a halting place in the valley of Ackîck, about five miles west of Medîna.* It was Thursday morning; and the same day, striking off by a valley to the left, they marched northward for a few miles, and encamped in an extensive and fertile plain to the west of Ohod.† The luxuriant fields were cut down as forage for the horses; and the camels, set loose to graze, trampled the crops in all directions.

Friday.

Friday was passed inactively. Between this low

* A party of the Bani Khozâa, who had quitted Mecca only four days before, told Mahomet that they had left the Coreishite army at Dzu Towa, the first stage from Mecca; on their return they met them at Râbigh, on the road by the sea-shore. *Wâckidi*, 202.

It is related that at Abwâ some of the Coreish proposed to dig up the bones of Mahomet's mother, as a guarantee, in case of defeat, against any insult to the women who accompanied the army. Abu Sofiân objected, lest the Bani Bakr and Khozâa (left behind at Mecca) should, in retaliation, dig up the bones of their dead. The story is unlikely, but it marks the route. *Wâckidi*, 206. For Dzul Huleifa, see *Burton*, ii. 144.

† It was called Al Watâ, الوطاء, which may have been its proper name, but which also signifies generally a depressed plain between high ground. The plain, extending from Ohod to Al Jorf, was cultivated by the inhabitants of the city. It sloped off northwards into the *Ghâba*, the lowest spot or basin for the drainage of the whole vale of Medîna. The surplus water from thence passes west, between the hills. *Burckhardt*, 328; *Burton*, ii. 117, 169, 235. In the days of Wâckidi it was called "the plain of beans or vegetables." Osçid ibn Hodheir is mentioned as having twenty camels employed in irrigating his barley there. *Wâckidi*, 207. The barley harvest is in March, and the crop would be now in green luxuriance. *Burckhardt*, 355.

plain and Medîna were several rocky ridges, which, closing down upon the city on the north, rendered it secure from any direct attack on that side; but the road, sweeping eastward under Ohod, and then south, reached the northern suburbs by an easy circuit. The Coreish feared to advance by this route upon the city, as the houses on the road would have afforded their enemy a strong position. They hoped rather to draw them to the outskirts and overpower them, upon equal ground, by their superior numbers. Perhaps by delay, it was also expected that the party unfavourable to Mahomet might have time to gain heart, and create in the city a dangerous diversion.

Proceedings in Medîna.

Meanwhile Mahomet, by his spies, was kept apprised of the enemy's movements.* Hobâb ibn al Mundzir reconnoitred their camp on Thursday, and brought back an alarming estimate of its strength, which the Prophet desired him to keep secret.† The farmers of the plain had withdrawn in time their labourers, cattle, and implements of husbandry; but the complete destruction of their fields was severely felt. The hold which Mahomet had already attained over the people of Medîna is remarkable. There was no ebullition of resentment

* Two of these spies ventured into the enemy's camp on the evening of Wednesday, and accompanied them from the valley of Ackîck to their encampment at Al Watâ, returning thence to Mahomet on Thursday. *K. Wâckidi*, 105; *Wâckidi*, 206.

† *Wâckidi*, 208.

against him as the cause of their losses; and, amidst all the elements of disaffection, he is at once recognized as the leader and director of every defensive measure. Several chief men, both of the Aws and Khazraj, with a strong party of armed adherents posted themselves at the great Mosque, and kept watch over the Prophet's door throughout the night of Thursday.* The sleep of Mahomet was troubled. He dreamed, tradition tells us, that he was clad in mail, that his sword was broken at its point, that a cow was being slaughtered, and that he rode upon a ram.†

Resolution to remain within the city,

The next day, Friday, the people came together, and Mahomet discussed with them the course to be pursued. He told them of his dream. "The fracture in my sword portendeth some injury to my own person,"‡ he said; "and the slaughtering of the cow, damage to my people; riding upon the ram signifieth slaughter amongst the enemy; and the being covered with a coat of mail is a type of Medîna fortified and secure. 'Within the city then,' he argued, "we are safe: without it, loss and disaster may await us." In this opinion coincided the

* The two Sáds, Oseid, &c., are named as with this party.

† *Reff. as before.* The dream is given consistently by all our authorities; and there is nothing violently improbable in it, though it bears too much the cast of traditional fiction to be received unhesitatingly. Supposing it founded on fact, it might either be a real dream, or a similitude intended by Mahomet to enforce his views.

‡ Or, as others say, "to some one of my house." *Wâckidi*, 209.

men of years and wisdom, both citizens and refugees. Abdallah ibn Obey, who, notwithstanding his jealousy of Mahomet, was equally concerned in the protection of Medîna from insult and violence, strongly supported the views of Mahomet:—"O Prophet!" he said, "our city is a virgin, inviolate. We have never gone forth to our enemies, but we have suffered loss: remaining within our walls, we have beaten them off with slaughter. Leave the Coreish alone. If they remain, it will be in evil case; when they retire, it will be disappointed and frustrated in their designs." So it was determined that the women and children of the suburbs and surrounding hamlets should be brought within the city, and that the enemy, if they approached, should be met with arrows, stones, and other missiles from the house-tops, and pursued in confusion through the streets and narrow passages of the town.*

The decision was displeasing to the younger and more impetuous citizens. "Shall we sit quietly here," they asked indignantly, "and see our fair possessions ravaged all around? The disgrace will cleave to us irretrievably, and the Arab tribes will be emboldened to repeat the insult. Let us go forth and smite our foes, even as we did at Badr!"† There

set aside by the ardour of the younger converts.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 109; *Wâckidi*, 210.

† As usual, we are overwhelmed with anecdotes of Believers bent on martyrdom, and of dreams and pious anticipations of the rewards to be shortly enjoyed in Paradise. These I take to be the growth of after years;—the halo, in fact, pictured by tradition

were not wanting men among the Refugees who sided with this party, and their ardour was so great that Mahomet at last gave way. He announced his resolution to give battle to the Coreish. Ascending the pulpit for the weekly service, he stirred up the people, in his discourse, to fight courageously:—"If ye be stedfast," he said, "the Lord will grant you victory." Then he commanded them to make ready for the battle. The most part rejoiced greatly; but some were grieved that the first decision had been set aside.

---

around the martyr's head. There were worldly motives enough to justify this party in their desire to go forth. The citizens were grieved at the occupation of their fields; the barley crops were being destroyed, and the season for sowing was passing away. *Wâckidi*, 211. Even Hamza joined them, on political considerations. "We fear," he said, "lest the Coreish should attribute our backwardness to cowardice, and that it will embolden them ever after. We were but three hundred at Badr, and now we are many. Verily, this is the day we have longed and prayed to the Lord for; and now he hath driven the enemy as a prey into the midst of our habitations." *Wâckidi*, 210.

As specimens of the martyr spirit, I may mention these. One said,—"The slaughtered cow which thou sawest was an emblem of the dead amongst thy followers, and verily I shall be of the number; wherefore, hinder me not from Paradise. Let us go forth; surely, by the one God! I shall quickly enter therein." *Wâckidi*, 211. Khaithama (who had cast lots with Sàd, his son, which should go to Badr, p. 84) told Mahomet that his son had risen before him in his sleep:—"A goodly appearance he had: he described to me the blessedness of Paradise,—all is true that our Lord hath promised; and he besought me to come quickly, and be his companion there. And now, verily, I am old, and long for the meeting with my Lord. Pray, therefore, that God would grant me martyrdom, and reunion with my son." So Mahomet prayed: and Khaithama was slain at Ohod. *Wâckidi*, 212. Such is the kind of story which tradition delights to embellish or to create.

By the time the afternoon prayer was ended, the people had assembled in the court of the Mosque, armed for battle. Mahomet then retired with Abu Bakr and Omar, to make ready. In a little while he issued from his chamber, clad in mail and helmet, his sword hanging from a leathern girdle,* and a shield slung over his shoulder. His followers now repented that they had importuned him to go forth, and prayed that he would even now do as seemed good to him. But it was too late:—"I invited you to this," he said, "and ye would not. It doth not become a Prophet, when once he hath put on his helmet, to lay it down again until the Lord hath decided betwixt him and his enemies. Wait, therefore, on the Lord. Only be stedfast, and he will send victory to you." Mahomet puts on his armour;

Then he called for three lances, and fixed banners upon them: One for the Refugees he gave to Musáb, the second to a Leader of the Bani Aws, the third to a Leader of the Bani Khazraj.† Abdallah ibn Omm Maktûm he appointed to command the city, and lead the public prayers, during his absence. Just then the bier of a citizen was brought, as was customary, to the Mosque. Mahomet pronounced over it the usual service; then mounting his horse, marches a little way out of Medina, and halts for the night of Friday.

* It was preserved and handed down in the family of Abu Râfi, Mahomet's servant. *Wâckidi*, 213.

† Instead of Mussáb some name Ali. The Awsite standard was held by Oseid ibn Hodheir; the Khazrajite, by Hobâb ibn Mundzir; others say, by Sád ibn Obâda. *Wâckidi*, 214; *K. Wâckidi*, 105½.

and surrounded by his followers, he took the road to Ohod. There was but one other horse with the Moslem army. Arrived at an eminence, the Prophet turned round and saw following, amid the palm plantations on the right, a rude and disorderly band of men. Being told that they were the Jewish confederates of Abdallah ibn Obey, he commanded that they should go back, "for," said he, "ye shall not seek the aid of idolaters to fight against idolaters."* He then passed onwards to a place called Al Shaikhain, where he reviewed the force, and halted for the night.† Abdallah ibn Obey,

* *Wâckidi*, 215; *K. Wâckidi*, 105½. It is commonly supposed that the order was at once obeyed, and that the Jews went back accordingly; but this is nowhere, that I find, expressly stated; and it is quite a possible alternative that they stayed on with Abdallah, and formed part of the force which seceded at the field of Ohod; and this seems to be the view of H. von Hammer. Weil holds, but on later authorities, that the Jews, five hundred in number, went back at this time, and Abdallah's force afterwards.

The Secretary of Wâckidi has a tradition that Mahomet, seeing Abdallah on the road with seven hundred confederate Jews of the Bani Cainucâa, asked *whether they were converts to Islam or not;* and, on being informed that they were not, said, "Let them return, for ye shall not seek aid of idolaters," &c. In most traditions the words "Let them return" are not given.

On the whole, I consider the difference an open question.

† Burckhardt, p. 365, notices it as "a ruined edifice of stones or bricks," a mile from the town, "where Mahomet put on his coat of mail," *i.e.* on Saturday morning. "Farther on" is a stone where the Prophet "leaned for a few minutes on his way to Ohod."

The edifice is apparently that noted by Burton (ii. 234) as the "*Mustarah*, or resting-place." It is half an hour's ride from

with his followers, encamped near at hand; but, displeased at his advice being cast aside, and at the unfriendly treatment of his Jewish adherents, he kept sullenly aloof. Muhammad, son of Maslama, patrolled the camp with fifty men.* A similar duty was performed for the Coreish by Ikrima, with a troop of horse, which approached close enough to alarm the Moslems by their neighing, but did not venture over the ridge which separated the two armies.†

Mahomet advances to Ohod, and draws up his line of battle.

By the first dawn, the army of Medîna was again in motion, advancing upon Ohod.‡ A guide was procured, who, in the dim light of early morning,

Medîna, "and has a newly built square or enclosure of dwarf whitewashed walls, within which devotees pray."

In the time of Mahomet two buildings stood on the spot called Shekhâni (*the two aged persons*), in memory of an aged and blind Jew and Jewess who used to live there. *Wâckidi*, 214; *Tabari*, 358.

* Mahomet slept that night in the encampment of the Bani Najjâr. A person named Dzakwân watched over him. Mahomet awoke several times during the night, and asked who was on guard. Dzakwân answered each time by a different name (according to the Arab custom of patronymics, &c.), and Mahomet therefore supposed that the guard had been several times relieved. In the morning Dzakwân explained the artifice, and Mahomet was amused at it. The same story is related of Badr. *Wâckidi*, 216, and 107.

† The *Harrat*. *Wâckidi*, 216; *Burton*, ii. 235.

‡ All authorities agree that the battle was fought upon a Saturday; and the day of the month is ordinarily given as the seventh of Shawwâl; but M. C. de Perceval calculates that the seventh fell on a Tuesday. By the same calculation, the eleventh falls on Saturday; and the eleventh is one of the days named, but on inferior authority, by tradition. Others give the fifteenth.

Saturday morning, 7th (11th) Shawwâl, A.H. III. 26th January, A.D. 624.

led Mahomet by the nearest path, through the fields and gardens which occupied the intervening space.* The vicinity owes its verdure to a water-course, which carries off the drainage of the country lying to the south and east. The hill of Ohod, three miles distant from Medîna, is a rugged and almost insulated off-shoot of the great mountain range, and projects for three or four miles into the eastern plain.† The torrent, sometimes swollen so as quite to inundate the adjacent tract,‡ sweeps along its southern and western face, and discharges its flood into the *Ghâba*, or low basin lying beyond. It was now dry, and its course marked only by deep sand and scattered stones. On the farther bank, upon a slightly sloping plain, bare and stony, over which "the seared and jagged flanks of Ohod rose like

* As he passed through one of these gardens, its owner, a blind man, murmured at the injury to his property, and cast dust at Mahomet. One of the Bani Aws sprang up and beat him. A chief of the Bani Khazraj resented the affront, and a fierce contention arose. It was ended by a savage threat from Oseid, the Awsite "Leader," who said that unless he knew that it would not be pleasing to Mahomet, he would have cut off the blind man's head!

There must, no doubt, have been difficulty in keeping down these intestine quarrels and jealousies, though in the hands of a skilful administrator like Mahomet, they were really elements of power. *Wâckidi*, 217.

† *Burckhardt*, 364, 366.

‡ *Ibid.* 365. Mahomet crosesd the water-course at a place where there was subsequently a bridge القنطرة *Wâckidi*, 105½. I do not find the notice of this bridge, or its remains, in any modern work.

masses of iron," Mahomet halted his army.* By this time it was full daylight, and although the columns of the enemy were in sight, the cry for morning prayers was raised by Bilâl, and the whole army, led by the Prophet, prostrated itself in worship. Abdallah ibn Obey at this moment wheeled suddenly round, and deserting the army with his three hundred followers, took the road back to the city. Mahomet was thus left with only seven hundred followers: but they were all true men; and, fighting in what they believed to be the cause of God, they boldly faced an enemy four times their number. The rear was protected by the frowning heights of Ohod, excepting on the left, where the rocks receded, and afforded an opening, the more dangerous because suited to the movements of the enemy's horse. Mahomet, therefore, posted on an adjoining eminence the flower of his archery, and gave their leader a stringent injunction to hold fast, and check the attempts which he expected the Coreish would here make to turn his flank:—"Guard our rear," he said, "and stir not from this spot: if ye see us pursuing and plundering the enemy, join not with us: if we be pursued, and worsted, move not to our aid." Then he drew out his line, facing towards Medîna;—Musáb, with the Refugee standard, being in the centre, and the Aws and Khazraj allies forming either wing.† He com-

* *Burton*, ii. 237.

† The received account is that the army faced southwards, towards Medina, its left resting on the eminence of *Ainain* ("the

manded the army not to engage the enemy till he gave command; for he knew that the strength of his position would be sacrificed by a premature advance. Having thus disposed his force, Mahomet put on a second coat of mail, and calmly awaited the enemy's approach.

The army of Mecca advances.

Meanwhile Abu Sofiân, as hereditary leader, brought up the Meccan army; and, facing Ohod, marshalled them in front of Mahomet. The banner, which had been duly bound upon the standard in the Council Hall at Mecca, was borne by Talha, son of Abd al Ozza.* The right wing was commanded

---

two springs"); another version, not accepted by Wâckidi, makes it face to the west, with its rear on *Ainain*, the enemy facing east, towards the rising sun. *Wâckidi*, 218. It is probable that Mahomet's front, though looking south, was slightly turned west, to suit the ground which formed the *north-eastern* bank of the torrent. Burckhardt (p. 365) makes the field of action lie *east* of the water-course: Burton (ii. 235), *north*. Both are probably right in part, if, as I suppose, the torrent here inclines to the north-west.

* This Talha is to be distinguished from Talha son of Obeidallah, who stood by Mahomet in the battle. The Talha in the text was of the family of Abd al Dâr, which retained the right of carrying the Coreishite standard. Vol. i. p. ccxlvii. *note*. Abu Sofiân desired not only to lead the army, but to carry the standard, or at least to raise a second banner; but the descendants of Abd al Dâr would hear of no encroachment on their ancestral privilege. *Wâckidi*, 219. There is a tradition that, as the enemy drew near, Mahomet inquired who bore their standard: on being told that it was one of the Bani Abd al Dâr, he exclaimed,—"Our side is more worthy of that honour; and, calling for Musâb (who was of the same lineage), placed the standard in his hands. It would appear, however, that Mahomet had already given the standard to Musâb in the great Mosque.

by Khâlid; the left by Ikrima, son of Abu Jahl.* The women at first kept to the front, sounding their timbrels and singing martial verses; but as the line advanced, they fell to the rear.

The battle opened† by the inglorious advance of Abu Aamir, "the Monk," who vainly expected his fellow-citizens of Medîna to fraternize with him. He was received by them with a shower of stones, and forced to retire. Talha cried out indignantly to him and his followers,—"Get to the rear, ye slaves! Guard the camp,—a fitting employment for you!" Flourishing the Coreishite banner, Talha now advanced alone, and challenged the enemy to single combat. Ali stepped forth, and rushing on him, with one blow of his sword, brought him to the ground. Mahomet, who had watched the rapid combat with intense anxiety, exclaimed with a loud voice,—*Great is the Lord!* and the same cry arose in an overwhelming shout from the whole of the Moslem army‡ Talha's brother, Othmân, who was in charge of the women, then ran forward and seized the banner which lay by the lifeless

The battle opens with single combats.

* Over the Coreishite horse was Safwân, son of Omeya; others say Amr ibn al Aas (the famous Amru); but the horse was apparently divided between the two wings. One hundred archers were placed under Abdallah ibn Abi Rabia. *Wâckidi*, 219.

† Wâckidi gives an harangue, supposed to have been pronounced by Mahomet just before the battle; but it is evidently spurious. *Wâckidi*, 220.

‡ Mahomet declared that thus was fulfilled that part of his vision in which he appeared to ride upon a ram. Talha was the ram.

body. The women beat their timbrels loudly, and sang:—

"We are the Daughters of the Brave:*
On carpets we step delicately;
Boldly advance, we shall embrace you!
Turn back, and we will shun you,"
Shun you with disgust!"

Hamza responded to Othman's challenge, and after a brief encounter, brought him lifeless to the ground. Then walking proudly back to the Moslem ranks, Hamza shouted,—"I am the son of him who gave drink to the pilgrims,"—meaning of Abd al Mottalib, who had held that office. One after another, the family of Talha, two brothers and three sons, seized the standard; one after another, they fell in single combat.†

The Coreish are pressed, and waver.

The rapid destruction of their standard-bearers carried dismay into the ranks of the Coreish. A

---

* بنات طارق—*lit.* daughters of the morning star, or of those who fall upon their enemy before dawn. *K. W.* 106; *W.* 223.

† One of the sons was wounded by an arrow, shot by Aasim. The wounded lad was carried to his mother Sulâfa, at the rear. She asked him, as he was breathing his last, who killed him. He said he did not recognize him; but as his foe shot the arrow, he heard him cry,—"Take that from me, the son of Al Aclah!" "By the Lord!" Sulâfa said, "it was Aasim, one of our own kin;" and she vowed she would yet drink wine out of Aasim's skull. The vow was nearly being fulfilled, as we shall see below. *Wâckidi*, 225.

The Arab custom of single combats put the two armies on an equality for a time. So long as these combats went on, the Coreish derived no advantage from their superior numbers; and were disheartened by the loss of their chiefs before the battle began.

general engagement ensued; and, pressed by the fierce ardour of the Mussulmans, the Meccan began to waver. Their horse sought repeatedly to turn the left flank of Mahomet; but they were each time forced back by the galling archery of the little band posted on the neighbouring height. The same daring contempt of danger was displayed as at Badr. The Meccan ranks might be seen to quiver as Abu Dujâna, distinguished by the red kerchief wound round his helmet, swept along, and, with a sword given him by Mahomet, dealt death on every side.* Hamza, conspicuous from his waving ostrich feather; Ali, marked by his long white plume; and Zobeir, known by his bright yellow turban—like heroes in the battles of the Iliad—carried confusion wherever they appeared.†

* There is a mass of tradition about the prodigies of bravery shewn by Abu Dujâna with this sword of Mahomet.

At the commencement of the action Mahomet held up his sword, and said,—"who will take this sword, and give to it its due?" Omar, Zobeir, &c. one after another, came forward and were rejected; last Abu Dujâna offered, and Mahomet gave it to him;—"And he clave therewith the heads of the Unbelievers."—*K. Wâckidi*, 288; *Wâckidi*, 255 *et seq.*; *Hishami*, 255; *Tabari*, 395.

After the battle, Ali, giving his sword to Fatima to wash, said,—"Take this sword, for it is not a despicable one,"—alluding to his own acts of prowess that day. Mahomet added,—"If thou hast done well, O, Ali! verily Hârith ibn Simma and Abu Dujâna have done well also."

† But the actual loss inflicted by these heroes was comparatively small; since only twenty fell altogether on the Meccan side, and a considerable number of these lost their lives in single combat. Indeed there is to be suspected a magnifying of the first advantages

The day changed by the charge of Khâlid. The army of Medîna routed.

But the advance was pressed too hotly by the army of Mahomet. Their own line became irregular and confused; and a portion, piercing through the ranks of the enemy, fell to plundering their camp and baggage. The archers, from their eminence, perceived this, and could not resist the temptation; casting to the winds the injunction of the Prophet and the earnest expostulation of their leader, they hurried to the spoil. The ready eye of Khâlid saw the opportunity, and he hastened to retrieve the day. Gathering the Coreishite horse at his extreme right, he wheeled round the enemy's left wing, now uncovered, swept off the few remaining archers from the rising ground, and appearing suddenly in rear of the Moslems, charged down into their ranks. The surprise was fatal, the discomfiture complete. Musáb was slain, and the standard of the Refugees disappeared.* The wild negro, Wahshî,

---

gained by the Moslems, in order to counterbalance the ignominy of the subsequent defeat. A small body of heroes may have pierced through to the rear without much affecting the main line of the Coreish. Had that been thrown into general confusion, one would have expected the loss on their side to have been much greater.

The Secretary gives the enemy's loss at *twenty-three*, but this includes the prisoner Abu Ozza, and also Muâvia, killed some days after.

* It was seized by an angel. *Wâckidi*, 231. The angels, though present, the traditionists add naïvely, did not fight that day. *K. Wâckidi*, 106. But if the believers had stood fast the angels would have fought. *Wâckidi*, 232.

There is a tradition that a descendant of Abdal Dâr, Abdul Rûm, caught the banner as it fell from Musáb's hands, and brought it back to Medîna; but it is unsupported. *Wâckidi*, 236.

watched for Hamza and, swinging his javelin with unerring aim, brought him lifeless to the ground. The Coreish now raised their war cries of OZZA and HOBAL, and advanced with rapid step. The Moslem army, pressed on every side, broke, and fled in dismay. They did not stop till they had found refuge on the heights of Ohod.

Mahomet wounded;

It was a moment of extreme peril for Mahomet. At the first success, he kept behind, watching the advance of his troops, and, remaining in that position, had narrowly escaped the sweeping charge of Khâlid's cavalry.* Some marvellous but improbable stories are told of his prowess, as well as of his signal escapes. With the staff of followers who surrounded him, he joined in discharging arrows, till his bow was broken; and then he betook himself to casting stones. At one period, he is said to have inflicted a deadly wound on Obey ibn Khalf, who pressed madly forward to cut him down.†

* The spot of Mahomet's misfortunes is still marked by a Cupola, *Cubbat al Sanâya*, the dome of the teeth,—"nearer the foot of the mountain" than the graves of Hamza, &c. The print of a tooth is shewn there. *Burckhardt*, 365; *Burton*, ii. 244.

† The feat is surrounded with so much fabrication and discrepancy that I at first hesitated to admit it into the text. According to the Secretary, Obey was one of the prisoners taken at Badr; when ransomed, he left Medîna, telling Mahomet that he had a horse which he was feeding up, in the hopes of killing Mahomet from its back. Mahomet replied,—"Nay! if the Lord will, I shall slay thee as thou art seated on that horse." Now, at Ohod, Obey urged forward the horse, and drew near to Mahomet. His followers interposed, but Mahomet bade them stand aside. Then

When the Moslem ranks were broken and forced back, he tried to stay their flight, crying aloud,—*Whither away? Come back! I am the Apostle of God! Return!* But the call was not heeded; the retreat went on unchecked.* The enemy soon bore down in force upon the Prophet himself, and if a party of devoted followers had not rallied round his person, escape had been impossible.† The Coreish scoured the field in special quest of their arch enemy. Suddenly, Ibn Camia, the hero who had just slain Musáb, joined by Otba‡ and others, came upon the little group. Stones and arrows flew thick around them. A stone wounded the Prophet's under lip and broke one of his front teeth. Another severe blow upon the face drove the rings of the helmet

---

taking a weapon, he cast it at Obey, and broke one of his ribs. Obey retired, and his comrades told him the wound would be of no consequence:—"Not so," replied he, "for did not Mahomet say that he would slay me, if it were the will of the Lord?" So they carried him back, and he was buried on the road to Mecca. *K. Wâckidi*, 107; *Wâckidi*, 247. In Wâckidi's list of killed (p. 299), he is entered as slain by Mahomet's own hand. Two other accounts are given at p. 248; according to one of which Musáb would seem to have been the chief actor. See further discrepancies in Hishâmi, p. 262.

Othmân ibn Abdallah, apparently one of Khâlid's horsemen, is said to have galloped after Mahomet, but was unhorsed, and his horse maimed, by the Moslems. *K. Wâckidi*, 248.

* *Wâckidi*, 234.

† Fourteen persons are ordinarily named as having stood fast by Mahomet; one half of them refugees, and the other half citizens. *Wâckidi*, 237.

‡ Son of Abu Wackkâs.

deep into his cheek, and made a gash in his forehead. The sword of Ibn Camia was barely warded from the head of Mahomet by the naked hand of Talha son of Obeidallah, whose fingers were thereby disabled.* Mahomet fell to the ground,† and Ibn Camia went back to his comrades exclaiming that he had killed him. The cry was taken up all around, and resounded from the rocks of Ohod.‡ It spread consternation among the Prophet's followers. "Where now," they asked, "is the promise of his Lord?"§ But at the same time, the rumour checked the ardour of the enemy's pursuit. Their controversy was with Mahomet rather than with Medîna. If he were killed, their object was accomplished, their revenge fulfilled.‖

cry that he is slain.

* *Wâckidi*, 221.

† Some accounts say that he was knocked over *into a ditch*, which was dug as a snare for the Medîna army by Abu Aamir; as if Abu Aamir knew what spot Mahomet was about to select for the battle-field! *Wâckidi*, 241. There may have been a natural declivity into which Mahomet fell; but even this does not appear from the best traditions.

‡ As usual, it is the devil who is accused of this piece of malice. In the shape of Juâl ibn Surâca (see above, p. 125 note), he screamed aloud that Mahomet was dead. *K. Wâckidi*, 106; *Wâckidi*, 229.

§ Some traditions assert, that on the cry of Mahomet's death going abroad, the staunch believers exclaimed,—"What if Mahomet be dead! The Lord dieth not; and verily his Apostle hath finished his work. Fight on for your Faith!" Whereas the disaffected said,—"Since Mahomet is dead, let us go back to our homes!" *Wâckidi*, 274. The latter speech is likely enough. The former is an evident anticipation of the scene at the Prophet's death seven years afterwards.

‖ One of their objects, Wâckidi states, was to take Mahomet prisoner. *Wâckidi*, 256.

Mahomet takes refuge behind the rocks of Ohod.

But Mahomet was only stunned. The cliffs of Ohod were close behind. Talha (himself in several places severely wounded) raised him gently, and with one or two others affording support, hastened to make him climb the defile where the greater part of his army had already found a secure retreat. The joy of his followers was unbounded at finding their Prophet still alive. Káb met him on the way, and began to call aloud the good news; but Mahomet, feeling that he was not yet beyond the reach of danger, motioned him to be silent.* When they were sheltered behind the rocks,† the first care of his followers was to remove the helmet from his head. Two of its rings were so firmly imbedded in his cheek, that Abu Obeida, who extracted them with his mouth, lost two teeth in the operation. The blood‡ flowed copiously from the Prophet's

* The same story is told of some of the women who came out after the battle, to meet Mahomet; but that was at a much later period of the day, when there could have been no cause for silence. The circumstance has been added apparently to enhance the danger and the merit of the females. *K. Wâckidi*, 107; *Wâckidi*, 233, 286; *Tabari*, 375.

† The very "cave" is professed to be shewn to the pilgrims in which Mahomet hid himself. *Burton*, ii. 248. There are some stories of Mahomet's party having been pursued up the hill. *Wâckidi*, 288; *Hishâmi*, 263. Also that they were in danger of being shot upon by their own people, who mistook them for the enemy. *Wâckidi*, 287. But they seem embellishments.

‡ *Wâckidi*, 244. Abu Mâlik licked the blood; thereupon Mahomet said,—"Whosesoever blood toucheth mine the same shall be safe from hell fire:" a favourite type of tradition.

wounds. Ali ran to a hollow in the rock, and brought some water in his shield. Mahomet could not drink of it, but only rinsed his mouth. As the blood was being washed off his face, he exclaimed—*How shall the people prosper that have treated thus their Prophet, who calleth them unto their Lord! Let the wrath of God burn against the men that have besprinkled the face of his Apostle with blood!** He then put on the yellow helm of Káb, in place of his own broken one; and, joining the rest of his followers, watched the movements of the Coreish in the plains below. Many of the warriors, wearied with the struggle, fell thus asleep. In this manner, mid-day passed away.†

After a colloquy between Abu Sofiân and Omar, the Coreish retire.

The leaders of the Coreish were now busy in the field of battle. They sought for the body of Mahomet, and, not finding it, began to doubt his

* *Wâckidi*, 242 ; *K. Wâckidi*, 107. "He cursed those that inflicted the wounds, saying,—*Let not the year pass over them alive;* and it came to pass that not one of those that shot at the Prophet survived beyond the year."

Fâtima is said to have been present at the washing; but there is no good tradition to shew that any women from Medîna came up till after the Coreish had retired. Some subsequent washing of the wounds has been confounded with this first washing. The tales of women fighting, &c. have all the air of fiction, and do not correspond with the course and tenor of the narrative.

† See *Sura*, iii. 155. It was only the true believers who slept: the hypocrites and disaffected were troubled in mind. *Wâckidi*, 289.

The mid-day prayers were performed *sitting*, in consequence of the wounds and fatigue of the congregation. *Wâckidi*, 287.

death. Many acts of barbarous mutilation were committed on the slain. Hind gloated over the body of her victim Hamza. She tore out his liver and chewed it; she strung his nails and pieces of his skin together to bedeck her arms and legs.* When the Coreish had spent some time thus, and had leisurely disposed of their own dead, Abu Sofiân drew near to the foot of the hill, and, raising his voice, called aloud the names of *Mahomet*, *Abu Bakr*, and *Omar*.. Receiving no reply (for the Prophet enjoined silence), he cried out again:—"Then all these are slain, and ye are rid of them!" Omar could contain himself no longer;—"Thou liest!" he exclaimed; "they are all alive, thou enemy of God, and will requite thee yet." "Then," continued Abu Sofiân, "this day shall be a return for Badr. Fortune alternates, even as a bucket. Hearken! ye will find amongst the dead some that are mutilated:—this was not by my counsel; but neither am I displeased thereat. Glory to OZZA! Glory to HOBAL! OZZA† is ours; it is not yours!" At the bidding of Mahomet, Omar replied,—"*God is our Lord; he is not yours.*" Abu Sofiân said,—"We shall meet again; let it be after a year, at Badr."

* This is probably a good deal exaggerated. Tradition, as I have had occasion to repeat before, delights to abuse Hind, as it did Abu Jahl.

† A play is intended on this word, which signifies *Glory* as well as the idol Ozza.

"Be it so," answered Omar.* On this Abu Sofiân turned away, and the Meccan army began its homeward march.

As soon as the enemy was out of sight, Mahomet and his followers descended into the field of battle. The full extent of their ignominious overthrow was now apparent. Seventy-four corpses were strewn upon the plain: four of these were Refugees,† whilst three score and ten were citizens of Medîna. Indeed, it was evident that the destruction of the whole force was only averted by the foresight of Mahomet in keeping a secure place of refuge in his rear. On the enemy's side the loss was only twenty. The news of the discomfiture soon reached Medîna, with rumours of the death of Mahomet; and the road was covered with men and women hastening to the scene of the action, to nurse the wounded,

Number of the slain.

The news reaches Medina.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 107½; *Wâckidi*, 289; *Hishami*, 265.

† The four Refugees were Hamza, Abdallah ibn Jash, Musáb, and Shamas ibn Othmân. The latter, being mortally wounded, was carried to Upper Medîna, where he died. His body, in accordance with a general order of Mahomet, was carried back to Ohod, and buried there; *Wâckidi*, 292. The tombs of the four Refugees are still maintained in repair. *Burckhardt*, 365.

A number of Arab strangers, who came to Medîna during a famine in the Caliphate of Omar, were buried at Ohod. Wâckidi cautions his readers against confounding these with the graves of the martyrs. Besides the tombs of the four Refugees, he mentions only those of four Medîna martyrs as being kept up in his day. *Wâckidi*, 303; see also, *Burton*, ii. 237. The seventy heaps pointed out to the latter as being tombs of martyrs are probably the graves of the Bedouin strangers mentioned by Wâckidi.

or search for the dead.* The disaffected citizens did not conceal their satisfaction, and some even talked of an embassy to Abu Sofiân.†

Dressing of Mahomet's wounds.

Arrived at the field of battle, Fâtima helped to dress the gash on her father's temple, the bleeding from which could only be staunched by applying the cinder of a piece of burned matting.‡ This added to the ghastly appearance of the wound, which was deep, and did not fully heal for above a month.§ Safia, the Prophet's aunt, now came up.‖ She was fondly attached to her brother Hamza; and Mahomet, fearful of the effect which the sight of his mangled remains might have upon her, desired Zobeir, her son, to keep her aside till the corpse was buried; but she insisted on going forward to

Safia mourns over her brother Hamza.

---

* Fourteen are mentioned; *Wâckidi*, 246. As I have intimated above, this was the first appearance of the women at Ohod. The picture of the defence of Mahomet on the field of battle by a woman called Nasîba, or Omm Omâra, who was severely wounded in twelve places fighting by his side, and received a savage blessing from the Prophet for bringing one of her adversaries to the ground, appears to me to be the growth of after days. She is represented as leaving Medîna early in the morning with a bag of water for the wounded; *Wâckidi*, 264 *et seq.* She was present, it is said, and again fought fiercely, at Yemâma.

† *Tabari*, 378.

‡ حصير; others say *burnt wool*; others again, *ground bones.*

§ *K. Wâckidi*, 107½; *Wâckidi*, 246.

‖ As she came up she asked after Mahomet, "and Ali pointed to him briefly and cautiously, for fear of the enemy;"—an evident fiction to enhance the danger of the occasion. The Meccan army was far off by this time, though there was of course the risk of its making a detour on Medîna by another road. *Wâckidi*, 282.

the spot:—"Where is my brother?" she eagerly inquired of Mahomet:—"Among the people," he replied.—"I will not go back," she said, "until I see him." So he led her to the body, saying,—"Leave her to her grief alone." She sat down by it and wept: then she sobbed aloud, and Mahomet sobbed also: Fatima, too, sat by weeping. Mahomet's spirit was stirred within him at the sight of Safia's anguish, and the disfigured corpse of his noble uncle; pulling his beard angrily, as when grieved and agitated he was wont to do, he swore that he would mutilate the bodies of thirty of the Coreish in the stead of Hamza.* To comfort Safia, he told her that her brother's name was recorded, among the dwellers in the highest Paradise, as *the Lion of God and the Lion of his Apostle.* He spoke kindly also to the women of Medîna, who were wailing over their dead. When the graves were ready, and the bodies laid out in order, he prayed over them, and commanded that they should be buried by twos and

Mahomet returns to Medîna.

* Some say *seventy; K. Wâckidi*, 180½; *Wâckidi*, 284; *Tabari*, 389. But he afterwards affected to receive a revelation forbidding the savage practice. The verse quoted for this order is at the end of Sura xvi., which, however, is a Meccan one; and the passage itself does not bear very plainly on the occasion here referred to; however, there is no doubt that Mahomet abolished the practice altogether, and it is to the credit of his humanity that he did so. His followers in India have shewn of late that this injunction has little check upon their passions. For assassination, they might have pleaded the example, though not the precept, of their prophet; against mutilation, there was both his precept and example.

threes in each grave.* He then mounted his horse, and the whole company, turning from Ohod, began their homeward march.

The Coreish, after some hesitation, take the route to Mecca.

The Meccan army, though withdrawn from the field of battle, might have fallen by another route upon Medîna, uncovered as it still was by the absence of the Moslem army. Mahomet and his followers trembled for the safety of their families.† Immediately after descending the hill, the Prophet had despatched Sád, son of Abu Wackkâs, to watch the movements of the Coreish.‡ These, when they reached the valley of Ackîck, paused there awhile. Their counsels were divided. Some urged to follow up the blow on the defenceless city. Others pointed to the danger of entanglement and loss in the outskirts and narrow streets, and contended that they should rest content with their signal victory. The opinions of the latter prevailed; mounting their

* Some say that Mahomet prayed over them by *nines*; *Wâckidi*, 300; and others, again, that he did not pray over the corpses at all; *K. Wâckidi*, 106½. They were not washed;—"Wind them," said the Prophet, "as they are, in their wounds and in their blood. I will be surety for them,"—alluding to the necessity otherwise of washing for legal impurity. Hence the angels washed Hamza. *Wâckidi*, 300; and Hantzala, 269. Some of the traditions, to prove that the latter was in a state of legal impurity, are too coarse and indelicate to be quoted.

† *Wâckidi*, 290. It seems to me quite possible that the risk of such a contingency was the cause of Abdallah ibn Obey deserting Mahomet and turning back for the protection of Medîna.

‡ Others say Ali.

camels, and leading their horses,* they slowly wended their way through the defiles that lead down the road to Mecca. Sád, hurrying back to Mahomet, called aloud the joyful news. "Gently," said Mahomet;—"Let us not appear before the people to rejoice at the departure of the enemy!"† The intelligence brought, nevertheless, intense relief both to Mahomet and his people; for the crestfallen, crippled army of Medîna could ill have afforded to undergo a second struggle.

Night of distress and insecurity at Medîna.

As Mahomet and his followers reached the foot of the intervening ridge, the whole company at his command, fell into two lines, with the women ranged behind, and there they offered up prayer and thanksgiving to God.‡ Drawing near to Medîna, they passed the habitations of the Bani Al Ashal, whose females wailed loudly for their dead;—"And Hamza!" —cried Mahomet,—"Alas, who is there to weep for him!" The wounded men here received permission

* This was the sign given by Mahomet to Sád.—"If they mount their horses," said he, "and lead their camels, then they meditate a return on Medîna; if they mount the camels, and lead the horses, then they are going home;" *Wâckidi*, 290. The camel was their working animal.

† Others say that Sâd approached with a downcast look; and that on Mahomet asking why he looked downcast, he replied that he would not have the people think he rejoiced at the intelligence he brought.

‡ *Wâckidi*, 305. The words of the prayer are there given; but they are evidently apocryphal. It contains a large share of cursing for the Jews, quite irrelevant to the occasion. The prayer, indeed, casts some suspicion on the incident altogether.

to go to their homes.* The rest followed Mahomet to the great Mosque, which they reached in time for the sunset prayer.† It was a night of mourning at Medîna. A sense of insecurity still pervaded the city; the chief men again kept watch over the Prophet's door, for fear of a night attack from the Coreish.‡ Some of the wounded remained near the Mosque, and the fires kindled for them cast a fitful and lurid light around its courts. Mahomet slept heavily, and did not answer the call of Bilâl for the second evening prayer. Shortly after he awoke, and walking forth, asked who it was that wailed so loudly near the Mosque. It was the women of Medîna, who had heard his pathetic words regarding Hamza, and came to mourn for him. Mahomet blessed them, and sent them to their homes. Ever after, it was the custom at Medîna for the women, when they mourned for their dead, first to wail for Hamza.§

Mahomet makes a demonstration as far as Hamrâ al Asad, in

On the morrow, Mahomet commanded Bilâl to proclaim through the city that he was about to start in pursuit of the Coreish, but that none should

* At p. 308, Wâckidi mentions thirty as wounded; but there must have been many more. At p. 326, *forty* of the Bani Salma are said to have been wounded; but this estimate again is excessive, caused probably by the tendency to magnify the sufferings and merit of each tribe or family.

† *Wâckidi*, 308.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 107; *Wâckidi*, 245.

§ *Wâckidi*, 245, 308; *K. Wâckidi*, 106, 181; *Hishâmi*, 268; *Tabari*, 393.

accompany him excepting those who had been present at the battle of Olíod. The movement was intended to raise the spirits of his followers, to remove the impression of defeat, and to show the Coreish that an advance upon Medîna would have been vigorously repelled. , As the warriors in their armour began to assemble at the Mosque, Talha came up;—"What thinkest thou,"—inquired Mahomet of him, "how far have the Coreish by this time reached on their journey homewards?"—"To the valley of Sayyala," he said, which is one long march from Medîna.* "So I was thinking also," rejoined Mahomet;—"but, Talha! they will never again inflict upon us such a disaster as we suffered yesterday,—no, not till we wrest Mecca from them." Then he placed one of the banners, which stood yet unfurled, in the hands of Abu Bakr;† and, stiff and

pursuit of the Coreish.

* Wâckidi (p. 317) makes this march to follow on a council held by Mahomet with Omeir and Abu Bakr, upon intelligence said to have been brought by a Mozeinite spy, that Abu Sofiân, encamped at Milal, was now advising a return upon Medîna; but this is unsupported. The expedition to Hamrâ al Asad has all the appearance of having been a mere bravado. Once well on their way back to Meeca, the enemy were not likely to think of returning. Indeed, the object of the march as explained by Hishâmi himself is pretty much of this character.

The tradition, above noticed, has probably originated in a passage in the Coran (S. ii. 173), which blesses those who went forth "notwithstanding the report that the Coreish had assembled against them." But those commentators who refer this passage not to the present occasion, but to the second expedition to Badr in the following year, are evidently in the right. See *Sale, in loco.*

† Others say in the hands of Ali. The tradition reads as if it

disfigured as he was from the wounds of the previous day, mounted his horse, and set out on the Meccan road. Two scouts whom he had sent in advance, fell into the enemy's hands, and were put to death at Hamrâ al Asád. The army of Mahomet, which advanced by forced marches, reached this spot the day after it was evacuated by the Coreish, and found the dead bodies there. At Hamrâ al Asád, (a little way short of Safra,) Mahomet spent three days, and regaled himself and his followers with fresh dates, a plentiful harvest of which had just been gathered. He commanded five hundred fires to be kindled on the adjoining heights, to make the Coreish believe that the pursuing force was very large. And, contenting himself with this demonstration, he returned to Medîna, after an absence of five or six days.*

---

was the great flag of the Refugees; but the balance of the evidence is against the supposition of that having been recovered from the field of battle. *Wâckidi*, 327.

* The Secretary of Wâckidi says that he returned on Friday after an absence of *five* days. Some add that he halted three days (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday) at Hamrâ al Asád. *K. Wâckidi*, 108; *Wâckidi*, 325; *Hishâmi*, 270; *Tabari*, 395.

Hamrâ al Asád is said by the Secretary to be *ten*, and by Hishâmi to be *eight* Arabian miles from Medîna. Burkhardt and Burton both make it a little above thirty hours' journey—say somewhat above sixty miles. "It receives its name from the redness (*hamrâ*) of the sands near which it is built. It is also called Wâsita, being the half way station between Medîna and Yenbo." *Burton.* The mountains rise to a great height in the neighbourhood, and there are watch towers on them. Mahomet's fires

At Hamrâ al Asád Mahomet made prisoner one of the enemy, who had loitered behind the rest. This was the poet Abu Ozza, one of the prisoners of Badr, who had been freely released, on the promise that he would not again bear arms in the war against the Prophet. He now sought for mercy:— "O Mahomet!" he prayed, "forgive me of thy grace!" "Nay, verily," said the Prophet, "a believer may not twice be bitten from the same hole. Thou shalt never return to Mecca. Stroke thy beard, and say, *I have again deceived Mahomet.* Lead him forth to execution!" So saying, he motioned to a bystander, who at one blow struck off the captive's head.*

Abu Ozza made prisoner, and put to death.

Another Coreishite, Othmân, son of Mughîra, perished by a too great confidence in the generosity of his enemy. When quitting Ohod, he missed his way, and passed the night near Medîna. Next morning, he ventured to the house of Othmân, the Prophet's son-in-law, who procured for him a three days' truce, and having found him a camel and provisions for the way, departed with Mahomet for Hamrâ al Asád. The Coreishite incautiously lingered at Medîna till the last day of his term of grace, when he set out for Mecca. In the endeavour

Othmân ibn Mughîra, after a truce of three days, pursued and killed.

would be seen a great way off. Burckhardt speaks of the "gardens of date-trees," still in the vicinity of this hamlet. *Burckhardt*, 311; *Burton*, i. 372.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 106½; *Wâckidi*, 299; *Hishâmi*, 272. Aasim was the executioner.

to avoid the returning Moslem force, he again lost his way; and Mahomet, hearing of his delay, sent men upon his track, who came up with him, and put him to death.*

Execution of Hârith ibn Suweid for the murder of Al Mujaddzir.

The next public act of Mahomet was the execution of a stern judicial sentence, which, if the facts are given correctly by tradition, was strictly just. Al Mujaddzir, a Codhâite, allied to the Bani Aws at Medîna, had, nine or ten years previously, slain Suweid, a chief of the Bani Khazraj. The battle of Boâth ensued;† but the blood there shed did not efface the memory of the murder. Hârith, the son of Suweid, had long sought to avenge his father's death; at last, he found his opportunity at Ohod. In the confusion of that reverse, he treacherously drew near to Al Mujaddzir, and killed him. A comrade, who was witness to the deed, reported it to Mahomet. An investigation was held, and the crime was brought home to Hârith.‡ Shortly

* *Wâckidi*, 324; *Hishâmi*, 272. The story is told most circumstantially by Wâckidi. Mahomet is represented as receiving supernatural information of the presence of the refugee in Othmân's home, just before Othmân came up to ask quarter for him.

† See vol. i. p. ccxxxiii.

‡ As usual, Mahomet receives supernatural intelligence regarding the crime, and a command to execute the criminal, from Gabriel. But a more reasonable tradition is added by Wâckidi, viz. that Khobeib, son of Yusuf, was witness of the act at Ohod, and told Mahomet; and that Mahomet was on his way to make a judicial investigation when Gabriel brought him confirmation of the charge. It is quite possible that Mahomet may have fortified himself in his decree by saying that he had the orders of Gabriel to carry it into execution; but Gabriel is so constantly, and often so absurdly,

after his return from Hamrâ al Asád, the Prophet called for his ass, and rode forth to Coba. It was not one of the days (Saturday and Monday), on which he ordinarily visited that suburb, and the men of Upper Medîna boded evil from his unusual arrival. He entered the Mosque and received the salutation of the chief inhabitants of the vicinity. At length the culprit himself, clothed in a yellow dress, little anticipating the event, came up. Perceiving him approach, Mahomet called aloud to Oweim, a chief of the Bani Aws:* *Take Hârith, the son of Suweid, unto the gate of the Mosque, and there strike off his head, because of Al Mujaddzir, the son of Dziâd; for verily he slew him on the day of Ohod.* Oweim was preparing to obey the command, when Hârith desired leave to speak, and hastening towards Mahomet laid hold of his stirrup as he was about to mount his ass. He begged for mercy, and promised to expiate the crime by any sacrifice or penance the Prophet might direct. Mahomet turned from him, and reiterated the order of execution. Seeing the decree to be irrevocable, Oweim dragged Hârith back to the gate, and there beheaded him, in the presence of Mahomet, the sons of Mujaddzir, and the assembled chiefs.†

introduced by tradition, that it is difficult to determine where Mahomet really brought forward the Archangel's authority, and where it is mere traditional fiction. *Wâckidi*, 296.

* A chief man of the Bani Amr ibn Awf. *K. Wâckidi*, 270½. He was one of the six first Medîna converts at Mecca. Vol. ii. 210.

† *Wâckidi*, 294; *K. Wâckidi*, 287½. Hârith and his brother Jallâs are numbered by Hishâmi (p. 185) among the "disaffected;"

Halo of glory cast by tradition around the martyrs of Ohod.

The field of Ohod was ever after invested for the Moslems with a peculiar interest. Mahomet used to visit it once a year, and to bless the martyrs buried there. "*Peace be on you!*" he would say: "*for all that ye endured,—and a blessed Futurity!*" The citizens, as they passed to and fro, visiting their fields at Al Ghâba, invoked peace upon the souls of the warriors who lay buried by the way; And their imagination conjured up the audible response, "and on you be peace!" from the lips of the dead. Strange stories were also propagated that, nearly half a century after, a great flood having ploughed up the banks of the torrent and uncovered the graves, the bodies of the martyrs were seen reclining in the attitude of sleep, fresh as the day they were interred, and blood still trickling from their wounds.*

But Mahomet's prestige affected at the time, by the defeat.

The future victories of Islam invested the heroes of Ohod with a halo of glory. But at this time their memories were far from receiving at Medîna universal homage. Murmurs at the inglorious retreat were rife throughout the city. Tradition passes

---

but there seems to have been no abnegation of Mahomet's authority on their part, or indeed any disposition to question his power of life and death.

* *K. Wâckidi*, 282, 289; *Wâckidi*, 262, 303, *et seq.* There are a mass of marvellous stories of this tenor. A similar tradition, dictated apparently by animosity against the Omeyad dynasty, is related by the Secretary, p. 180. When Muâvia projected an aqueduct at Ohod, he was told that its course lay through the graves. He sacrilegiously ordered the bodies of the martyrs to be disinterred. The narrator saw the corpses carried on men's shoulders as if asleep; and a pickaxe having wounded the leg of Hamza, fresh blood flowed forth!

lightly over this uncongenial subject, and dwells complacently on the ignominious manner in which Abdallah ibn Obey, and the Jews who hazarded remarks disparaging to the Prophet, were treated, and on the boastful threats of Omar against them. But the Coran tells us a different story. We there find that even the adherents of Mahomet were staggered by the reverse. It was natural that it should be so. The success at Badr had been assumed as a proof of divine support; and, by parity of reasoning, the defeat at Ohod was subversive of the prophetic claim. The Jews broadly advanced this stubborn argument.* It required all the address of Mahomet to avert the dangerous imputation, sustain the credit of his cause, and reanimate his followers. This he did mainly by means of that portion of the Coran which appears in the latter half of the third Sura.† A lofty tone of assurance pervades the studied explanation and remonstrance of the Prophet, which, like the rest of the Coran, are in the form of a direct address from the Deity. Much stress is adroitly laid on the marvellous interposition which brought victory at Badr. The reverse at Ohod was necessary

Line of argument by which Mahomet seeks to obviate its ill effect.

* "How can Mahomet pretend now," they asked, "to be anything more than an aspirant to the *kingly* office? No true claimant of the *prophetic* dignity hath ever been beaten in the field, or suffered loss in his own person, and that of his followers, as he hath." *Wâckidi*, 309.

† The third Sura is a congeries of passages given forth at various periods. We have in it passages revealed shortly after Badr, A.H. II; after Ohod, A.H. III; after the second Badr, A.H. IV; also after the interview with the Najran Christians, A.H. IX.

to sift the true believers from those who were infidels at heart. The light afflictions there sustained, were a meet prelude to the eternal glories of Paradise. The faithful had coveted the happy state of the martyrs at Badr, and longed for the same blessed fortune; now when death presented itself, they fled before its terrors! The slaughter, anywise, could not have been averted by following the counsels of those who stayed at home; for the hour of death is fixed for every one, and is inevitable. Future success is largely promised, if the believers will but remain stedfast and be courageous. The Lord had already at Ohod placed victory within their reach, when by cowardice and disobedience they drew defeat upon themselves. Even if Mahomet had been killed in battle, what then? he is but the Messenger of God like other Apostles that have died before him. The cause itself is immortal and divine. Such was his line of argument, mingled with comfort, reproof, and exhortation. It had its full effect in reassuring the true adherents of the Prophet; and so long as these were heart and soul upon Mahomet's side, his position at Medîna was secure.

The style and tenor of these passages are so fully and curiously illustrative of the situation of Mahomet at this time, that the reader will not, I think, object to peruse the following extracts from them:—

Passages from Sura iii. on the subject.

"Remember when thou wentest forth from thy Family in the early morning to secure for the Faithful an encampment for the Battle; and God heareth and knoweth;—

"And when two companies of you became anxious, so that ye lost heart;* and God is the Patron of both, and in God let the Believers put their trust.

"And, truly, God helped you at Badr, when ye were fewer in number;† fear God, therefore, that haply ye may be thankful.

"When thou saidst to the believers: *What! doth it not suffice you that your Lord should aid you with* 3,000 *Angels sent down?* Nay, if ye persevere, and fear God, and this Enemy were to come suddenly upon you, your Lord would help you with five thousand Angels arrayed in uniform;—

"And God made this (promise) none otherwise than as glad tidings for you, and that your hearts might be stayed. Victory cometh from GOD alone, the GLORIOUS, the WISE, that he may cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers."‡

* * * * *

"Be not cast down, neither be ye grieved. Ye shall be victorious, if ye are true Believers.

"If a wound hath befallen you, verily a wound like unto it hath befallen your enemy. This various success WE cause to alternate among men, that God may know those that believe, and may have Witnesses amongst you (God loveth not the Transgressors);— that God might prove them that believe, and annihilate the Infidels.

"What! did ye think to enter Paradise, while as yet God knew not those that fight for him, and knew not the persevering amongst you?

"And truly ye were longing for death before ye faced it. And verily ye saw it and looked on.

"Mahomet is no more than an Apostle, as other Apostles that have gone before him. What! if he were to die or be killed,

---

* The commentators refer this to an ill impression, created by the desertion of Abdallah in the minds of the two wings, of Mahomet's army, composed of the Aws and Khazraj; but the expression seems rather to refer to the general loss of heart in the army (the "two companies" being the Refugees and Citizens) which occasioned the flight. The same word, *fashal*, is again, in v. 152, applied to the army generally.

† *i.e.* than the enemy. ‡ *Sura*, ii. vv. 121-127.

must ye needs turn back upon your heels? He that turneth back upon his heels injureth not God in the least degree; but God will reward the thankful.

"Furthermore, no soul dieth but by the permission of God, as it is written and predestined. * * *

"How many Prophets have fought against those that had multitudes on their side. And they were not cast down at that which befell them fighting in the way of God, neither did they become weak, nor make themselves abject; and God loveth the persevering.*

* * * *

"We will surely cast Terror into the hearts of the Infidels, because they have associated with God that which he hath in nowise authorized. Their resting-place shall be the Fire: wretched is the abode of the transgressors!

"And truly the Lord had made good unto you his promise at what time ye were, by his permission, cutting them to pieces;—until ye lost heart and fell to variance in the matter,† and disobeyed, after that he had showed unto you that which ye longed for.

"Amongst you were those that desired the present Life, and amongst you those that desired the Life to come.

"Then he caused you to flee from before them, that he might prove you (but now he hath pardoned you, for God is gracious unto the believers), when ye made for the Mountain, and looked not back on any one, though the Apostle was calling unto you,—even unto those of you that were behind.

"Wherefore he caused grief to overtake you upon grief, that ye may not be afflicted hereafter at that which ye lose, nor at that which shall befall you: for God knoweth what ye do.

"Then he caused to descend upon you after the grief, Security, even slumber which covered a part of you; and a part of you were troubled by your own souls,—questioning about God that which is not the truth,—a questioning of ignorance;—

---

* *Sura*, iii. vv. 139-146.

† This word is ordinarily rendered *order*, as referring to Mahomet's command that the archers should hold fast on the eminence. I prefer to leave it as in the original, capable of a more general construction.

"In that ye said, *What! Is there any reality in this matter unto us?* * SAY:—Verily the matter belongeth wholly unto God.

"They concealed in their hearts that which they did not open unto thee. They say,—*Had there been any reality in the matter, we had not been slain here.*

"Say,—If ye had been in your own houses, verily those would have gone forth for whom fighting was decreed, unto the places of their death;—and (so it came to pass) that the Lord might prove what is in your hearts, for God knoweth the breast of man.

"Verily they amongst you who turned their backs in the day when the two armies met, Satan caused them to slip for some part of that which they had wrought: but God hath forgiven them, for God is Forgiving and Merciful." †

Blessedness of the Martyrs.

The blessed state of the Martyrs is thus described:—

"Think not in anywise of those who were killed in the way of the Lord, as if they were dead. Yea, they are alive, and are nourished with their Lord,—exulting in that which God hath given them of his Favour, and rejoicing on behalf of those who have not yet joined them, but are following after. No terror afflicteth them, neither are they grieved." ‡

* *i. e.* questioning the truth of Mahomet's mission, and his promise of Divine interposition and victory.

† *Sura* iii. vv. 151, 156. See also vv. 166-169, which being pretty much to the same purport, I do not choose to weary the reader with. In one place, the Disaffected are represented as replying hypocritically when they were called out to fight at Ohod: "Had we known there would be any fighting, we would have followed you." The natural meaning is, that they pretended to suppose that Mahomet was about to take up a position to watch or check the Coreish, and not to fight. It is true, however, that this sentiment is nowhere attributed *by tradition* to the Disaffected. The ordinary interpretation that "they would have gone" *if they had thought there was any chance of success*, is forced and unlikely. See *Sale, on Sura* iii. v. 168.

‡ *Sura*, iii. v. 170. To secure the crown of martyrdom, the simplest and most formal profession sufficed, of faith in the one

Mahomet addressing his people in the Mosque.

The reader may picture to himself the now venerable Prophet delivering, as the spokesman of the Almighty, these pregnant messages. He is about to issue from one of the apartments which, built for his increasing harem, form the eastern side of the Mosque. Under its rude but spacious roof of palm branches, the Citizens and Refugees, assembled before mid-day for the weekly service, throng around the pulpit, and occupy the long space in front of it. As Mahomet appears, the hum and bustle cease (for it was the hall of business and politics, as well as the house of worship), and the whole congregation fall into their ranks for prayer. Mahomet advances to the foot of the pulpit, and with his face turned toward the holy temple of Mecca, and his back to the people, goes

---

God and Mahomet. Thus Amr ibn Thâbit had, up to the day of Ohod, been an open unbeliever. He accompanied the Moslem army and was mortally wounded on the field. His comrades asked him regarding his creed; he whispered in reply that it was for Islam he had fought, and that he believed in God and in his Prophet. When this was told to Mahomet, he blessed his memory, and said that he was already an inheritor of Paradise. *Wâckidi*, 258.

On the other hand, any amount of bravery without such formal profession was of no avail. Thus Cozmân, who was numbered among the Disaffected, shewed incredible valour at Ohod, killing with his own hand seven or eight of the Coreish. But when, expiring on the field, he was congratulated on the prospect of Paradise, he said, with his last breath, that he had been fighting not for the faith, but for his people, and in defence of his native city. Mahomet, when told of it, declared that in spite of his services he was "a child of hell fire." *Wâckidi*, 222, 256, 259, 298; *Hishâmi*, 186, 264.

through the stated ritual. The assembly, arrayed in rows behind, follow every motion of their leader, just as a Moslem congregation at the present day follow the genuflexions and prostrations of their Imam. The prayers ended, the Prophet, with grave step, ascends the slightly elevated pulpit, and in a solemn voice, and accents suited to the still measured though irregular cadence of the oracle,* delivers to the audience the message which he says that he has received from above. Fear creeps over the heart. It is as if the Deity were present by some visible token, like the cloud overshadowing the Tabernacle. The Disaffected may scoff elsewhere, and the Jew in his own assembly may curse the upstart Prophet; but at this moment, disaffection and treason vanish away, for the dread sense of immediate communication with the Almighty overwhelms all other feelings. And now the rhetoric of Mahomet comes into play. In his oration, are mingled rebuke, exhortation, encouragement, in pure and nervous eloquence, such as no Arab could hear without emotion. Hell with its flaming gates, and the gardens and joys of Paradise, are conjured up as vivid and close realities before the hearer; for the hour, the present life fades into insignificance, excepting as the means of escaping the one, and of winning the other. Thus did Mahomet wield at his will the awe-stricken assembly; and wind in inextricable folds around them the enchantments of faith or of superstition. It was thus that he moulded to his own

purpose the various elements around him, and even under adversity and misfortune maintained his influence supreme.

The widow of Sád ibn Rabî entertains Mahomet at a feast.

A scene which occurred shortly after the battle of Ohod, illustrates the manner in which the oracles of Mahomet were given forth, and the incidental way in which the political and social code that still rules the Moslem world grew up. Among the slain was Sád the son of Rabî, a leader of the Bani Khazraj. He left a widow and two daughters;* but his brother, according to the practice of the times, took possession of the whole inheritance. The widow was grieved at this; and, being a discreet and prudent person, pondered how she might obtain redress. She invited Mahomet to a feast, with about twenty of his chief companions. He agreed to go. A retired spot among the palm-trees of her garden was sprinkled with water, and the repast was spread. Mahomet arrived, and with his followers seated himself upon the carpets prepared for them. He spoke kindly to the widow of her husband's memory, so that all the women wept, and the eyes of the Prophet himself filled with tears. The supper was then eaten, and a feast of fresh dates followed. When the repast was over, the widow arose, and thus disclosed her grief: "Sád, as thou well knowest, was slain at

* He had had *two* wives, but allowed Abdal Rahmân, who lodged with him on his arrival from Mecca, to choose which of them he liked best. Vol. ii. p. 272.

Ohod. His brother hath seized the inheritance. There is nothing left for the two daughters; and how shall they be married without a portion?" Mahomet, moved by the simple tale, replied: "The Lord shall decide regarding the inheritance; for no command hath been yet revealed to me in this matter. Come again unto me, when I shall have returned home." So he departed. Shortly after, as he sate with his companions at the door of his own house, symptoms of inspiration came upon him;—he was oppressed, and the drops of sweat fell like pearls from his forehead. Then he commanded that the widow of Sád and his brother should be summoned. When they were brought before him, he thus addressed the brother: "Restore unto the daughters of Sád two-thirds of that which he hath left behind him, and one-eighth part unto his widow: the remainder is for thee." The widow was overjoyed and uttered a loud *takbîr*, "Great is the Lord!"

Origin of the law of female inheritance.

Such was the origin of one of the main provisions of the Mahometan law of Inheritance.*

---

* See *Sura*, iv. v. 10, *et seq.* Supplementary rules are added at the close of the Sura. These *administrative* parts of Mahomet's Revelation were not, I conceive, used for recitation on devotional occasions, though the record of them was placed together with the leaves on which the rest of the Coran was transcribed.

The story of Sád's widow is taken from *Wâckidi*, p. 320; and the *Secretary*, p. 282. There is a good deal of the marvellous in the former, which I have omitted.

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH.

From the Battle of Ohod to the Expulsion of the Bani Nadhîr. A.H. IV. A.D. 625.

Ætat 57.

Satisfaction of the Coreish at the victory of Ohod.

THE people of Mecca were satisfied with the loss they had inflicted upon Mahomet. Abû Sofiân, on his return home, went straight to the Kaaba, where he rendered thanks to Hobal for the victory, and shaved his head. Those who had taken vows of abstinence were now fully absolved.* Medîna enjoyed a long exemption from the threat of another attack on the part of the Coreish.

Rumours of hostile designs in other quarters.

The two last months† of the Arab year, with the festival of Dzul Hijj, were passed in tranquillity; but with the opening of the fourth year of the Hegira, rumours reached Mahomet from various quarters of gatherings being organized against him, and he hastened to take the initiative. ‡

* *Wâckidi*, 291.

† February and March, A.D. 625.

‡ The opening events of this year were significant of the inimical spirit of many of the Bedouin tribes, and their readiness

The Bani Asád ibn Khozeima, a powerful tribe connected with the Coreish,* resided near the hill of Catan in Najd. Intelligence was received that Tuleiha, one of their chiefs, had assembled a force of cavalry and rapid camel-riders, to make a raid upon Medîna. Mahomet forthwith despatched a force of a hundred and fifty men, Citizens and Refugees indifferently, under Abu Salma, with instructions to march at night by an unfrequented route, and conceal themselves by day, so as to take the camp of the Bani Asád by surprise. They were so far successful as to fall unexpectedly upon a large herd of camels, which, with three of the herdsmen, they captured, and drove off to Medîna. One of the prisoners and the usual share of the plunder having been set apart for Mahomet, the remainder was divided among the soldiers. The Bani Asâd were effectually dispersed for the present; but they reserved their hostility for a future occasion. This Tuleiha is the same who at a later period set himself up as a Prophet in antagonism to Mahomet.

The Bani Asád ibn Khozeima dispersed by a force from Medina. Muharram, A.H. IV. April, A.D. 625.

Another gathering about the same time had taken place at a spot between Mecca and Tayif. The Bani Lahyân, a branch of the Hodzeil (which inhabited,

Bani Lahyân broken up by the assassination of their chief, Sofiân ibn Khâlid.

to take advantage of the reverse at Medîna. They show that Mahomet perhaps acted wisely in going forth to Ohod, as he certainly did act wisely in pursuing the Coreish to Hâmra al Asád. A less bold front would probably have brought down the marauding tribes of Najd, like harpies, on Medîna.

* See vol. i. p. cxcvi.; and the Table, p. cxcv.

Moharram, A.D. IV. May, A.H. 625.

as they still do, the vicinity of Mecca),* and other tribes of the neighbourhood, rallied round their chief, Sofiân son of Khâlid, at Orna, with the avowed intention of following up the late victory at Ohod. Mahomet, knowing that their movements depended solely upon Sofiân, despatched Abdallah ibn Oneis, with instructions to assassinate him. Abdallah went forth alone, and joining himself as a volunteer to Sofiân, fell upon him unawares while no one was near, cut off his head, and carried it with him. He eluded pursuit,† and reaching Medîna in safety, presented himself before Mahomet in the Mosque. The Prophet welcomed him, and asked the issue of his adventure. Abdallah replied by displaying the head of his victim. Mahomet was so highly gratified at the success, that he presented the assassin with his staff: "*This*," said he, "*shall be a token betwixt thee and me on the day of resurrection. Verily few on that day shall have anything to lean upon.*" Abdallah joined the precious memorial to his sword, and wore it close by his side till the day of his death, when it was buried with him. The murder of Sofiân broke up the assemblage at Orna; and probably, from the laxity of Arab morals, the outrage did not much affect the reputation of Mahomet; but in forming *our* estimation of his character,

* Vol i. p. cxcvi. and ref. there.

† He took refuge in a cave over which spiders wove their webs, and screened him from his pursuers—a repetition of the miracle in the cave of Thaur. He was eighteen days absent.

it must be numbered against him as a fresh proof of treacherous cruelty. Mahomet had no right to complain, when he paid the penalty of his treachery (as he shortly after did) in the loss of several of his followers, by an act of guile and inhumanity no greater than his own.*

Mishap at Rajî. Safar, A.H. IV. May, A.D. 625.

In the succeeding month, Mahomet despatched six of his followers in the direction of Mecca. The object is variously stated. Some represent that they were simply spies sent to gain information of the intentions of the Coreish.† But the more generally received tradition is, that they were deputed for the instruction of two small tribes, the Bani Adhl and Câra,‡ which, at the instigation of the Bani Lahyân, pretended a desire to embrace Islam. They were, with one exception, citizens of Medîna.§ When they had journeyed as far as Rajî,‖ they were treacherously surrounded and

* *Wâckidi*, 108; *Hishami*, 442. How mistaken is the estimate which W. Irving has formed of his character!—*Life*, ch. xxi. p. 118.

† *Wâckidi*, 345. An apparently well-founded tradition, and probable in itself.

There is another tradition in Tabari, p. 402, that the expedition consisted of *ten* men sent forth by Mahomet, apparently on a secret mission, and in disguise, for they were recognized, and traced to their haltingplace, by the kernels of their dates being of the Medîna shape.

‡ Descended from Al Haun son of Khozeima, and consequently of the same stock as the Bani Asád, referred to above.

§ The exception was a Refugee, the son of Al Bokeir. Vol. ii. p. 119.

‖ The Secretary describes this place as seven Arabian miles from Al Hadda, which again is the same distance from Osfân. *K. Wâckidi*, 109½.

overpowered by an armed band of the Bani Lahyân, who thirsted to avenge the assassination of their chief. Three died fighting bravely:* the other three were seized and bound as prisoners to be sold at Mecca. One of these succeeded in loosening his bands, and had nearly escaped when he was crushed by pieces of rock hurled down upon him. Zeid and Khobeib, the two survivors, were purchased by the heirs of two chiefs of the Coreish slain at Badr.† They were kept till the sacred month of Safar had expired.‡ They were taken to Tanîm beyond the limits of the holy territory, and, in presence of a large concourse from Mecca, put to death.

Martyrdom of Zeid and Khobeib.

Zeid and Khobeib are glorified in the annals of Islam as Martyrs. And if the traditions related of their refusal to recant, even on the promise of life

---

* One of these was Aasim, who, it will be remembered, killed a son of Talha at Ohod, and out of whose skull Sulâfa, the mother of the slain man, swore that she would one day drink wine. See above, p. 168, *note*. The B. Lahyân were about to cut off the head of Aasim and carry it to Sulâfa, but a swarm of bees interposed, and when the people went to seek for it afterwards, the Lord had swept it away with a flood, and thus frustrated the vow of Sulâfa! *Wâckidi*, 347; *K. Wâckidi*, 109½; *Hishami*, 275.

† Zeid ibn al Dathinit was bought by Safwân to avenge the barbarous death of his father Omeya ibn Khalf. See above, p. 110. Some say that the captors gave the two prisoners in exchange for two men of the Hodzeil, then in captivity at Mecca. *Hishâmi*, p. 275.

‡ "When the sacred months had elapsed," &c. *Wâckidi*, p. 348. Perhaps Safar was this year made sacred in place of Moharram. See vol. i. p. ccviii.

and liberty, and of their constancy to Mahomet and his faith, when thus standing alone amidst his enemies, be in any degree true, they are entitled to the name.* But it is a kind of martyrdom which, in its motives and antecedents, will not bear comparison with corresponding scenes in the history of the Christian faith. Zeid and Khobeib were avowedly either *spies* or *prisoners of war*, and their execution was hardly less excusable (some may be inclined to think it *more* excusable) than many of the acts of

* I see no reason to doubt the main facts of the story, although in the details a good deal of the marvellous has been superadded. Khobeib, when in confinement, was supplied by supernatural visitants with bunches of grapes as large as a man's head,—not a single grape being at the season to be had elsewhere. At his execution he bade his salutation to be sent to Mahomet. There being none to take it, Gabriel carried it to the Prophet, who returned the salutation in the hearing of his companions. When imprisoned, the only requests made by Khobeib were to be furnished with sweet water, to have no food that had been offered to idols, and to be told beforehand of the time of his execution. The day before he was put to death, he asked for a razor to shave himself with, which a female attendant sent by her little boy. He asked the child whether he did not fear that he would kill him with it, out of revenge. The mother interposed, when Khobeib continued: "Nay, fear not. I would never kill your son; *for treachery is not allowable in my religion.*" When they had bound him to the stake, they said: "Now abjure Islam, and we will let thee go." "Not so," he said; "I would not abjure Islam if I were to get the whole world in return." "Wouldst thou not that Mahomet were in thy place, and thou sitting in security at home?" "I would not," he replied, "that I should have deliverance, and Mahomet suffer the pain even of a thorn."

Similar stories are told of Zeid. They embraced each other when they came to the place of execution.

Mahomet himself. It was a meet accompaniment of an internecine war, waged with almost equal ferocity on either side. The curse of Khobeib was not easily forgotten by the spectators of that day. After praying briefly,* and while he was being bound to the stake, he called out loudly: "*O Lord! number these men one by one, and destroy them utterly! Let not one escape!*" At this imprecation, the Coreish cast themselves and their children flat upon the ground, —a superstitious act to escape the potency of the dying man's curse. Spears were then placed in the hands of the children of the warriors who had fallen at Badr; grasping these weapons, which were still kept partially in the children's hands, the Coreish stabbed the bodies of their victims. And thus ended the wretched tragedy.†

A party of Mahomet's followers cut to pieces at Bir Maûna.

In the same month another and more serious catastrophe took place. Abu Berâ, an aged chief of the Bani Aamir, which was a powerful tribe in Najd,‡ had visited Mahomet a short time before

---

* He prayed only two *Rakaats*, or series of prostrations,—saying that he would have prolonged his devotions, but feared the Coreish would attribute it to the dread of suffering death.

† *Wâckidi*, 348; *K. Wâckidi*, 109; *Hishami*, 274. The weapons were retained in the children's hands, to keep up the fiction that *they* slew the victims in retaliation for their parents' death.

‡ Bani Aamir or Aamir ibn Sassâa, a branch of the great Hawazin tribe. Vol. i. p. ccxxiv. Abu Berâ, being aged, had retired from the active duties of the chiefship, and resigned them into the hands of his nephew Aamir ibn Tofail, noticed below. See *C. de Perceval*, ii. p. 568.

Abu Berâ (Amr ibn Mâlik) at a later period consulted Mahomet

with a present of two horses and two riding camels. These the Prophet declined to receive, unless Abu Berâ would embrace Islam. The chief did not comply with the invitation to join the new faith; but, "if thou wilt send," he said, "a company of thy followers to my tribe, I have hopes that they will accept thy call." Mahomet replied, that he feared for the safety of his people among the treacherous tribes of Najd, some of whom were in alliance with the Coreish. But Abu Berâ declared that he would himself be responsible for their safety. Trusting to this pledge, Mahomet despatched forty, or by some accounts seventy, of his followers, mostly men of Medîna, with a letter to the Bani Aamir.* After four days' marching, they reached a fountain called Bîr Maûna, lying between the Bani Aamir and Suleim.† Here they halted and despatched a messenger with the letter to Aamir ibn

Safar, A.H. IV. May, A.D. 625.

---

regarding an internal disease from which, and from old age, he was suffering. It is possible that this visit also may have had a similar object. *Wâckidi*, 341; *C. de Perceval*, iii. 289.

* They are said to have been *all* citizens of Medîna, men who spent the day in hewing wood and drawing water for Mahomet's family, and at night slept in the Mosque. But although only sixteen names are given, even these are not all Medîna citizens; for Amr, who escaped, was of the Bani Dhamra, a Meccan tribe; and Amr ibn Foheira was a noted Refugee, the freedman of Abu Bakr, who accompanied his master and the Prophet in their flight from Mecca. The number *seventy* is a favourite one; Wâckidi remarks that seventy men of Medîna were killed at Ohod; seventy at Bîr Maûna; seventy at Yamâma; and seventy at the Yasr Abu Obeid (battle of the Bridge). *Wâckidi*, 341.

† A collateral tribe. See vol. i. p. ccxxiv.

Tofail, chief of the Bani Aamir. The messenger was put to death, and Aamir called upon his tribe to attack the rest of the party. They refused to break the pledge of Abu Berâ. Aamir then sought the aid of the Bani Suleim, who had lost some of their relatives at Badr; and, having been joined by a large body of these,* proceeded to Bîr Maûna and fell upon the Mussulmans, who were waiting the return of their messenger. They were all cut to pieces, excepting two men, one who was left for dead on the field, and another, Amr ibn Omeya, who, having been absent with the camels at the time of the slaughter, was spared on his return by the chief, in fulfilment of a vow which had been made by his mother.†

* The clans of Usseya, Rîl, and Dzakwân at once responded to the call. There are traces, as intimated in the text, of enmity originating in loss of relatives at Badr. Tucima, a Coreishite who was slain by Hamza, was the son of a woman of the Bani Suleim, whose brother "went forth on the day of Bîr Maûna, to stir up his tribe to avenge the death of his nephew;" and he enjoyed his revenge by killing one of the Medîna party. *Wâckidi*, 145, 344. The guide of the Mussulmans was a man of the Bani Suleim. *Wâckidi*, 338.

† Or, according to others, he was freed when they found that he was a descendant of Modhar (their common ancestor). Mundzir ibn Amr, the leader, seems to have escaped the massacre and been offered quarter, which he refused. Mahomet on hearing this, declared that *he embraced death*—اعنق ليموت—which the traditionists have magnified into the meaning that he went on the expedition with a sure presentiment of his end. *Wâckidi*, 288.

Amr ibn Tofail went over the battle-field with his prisoner Amr, who pointed out to him by name all the dead bodies, excepting that of Amr ibn Foheira (Abu Bakr's freedman); on

Mahomet's grief, and revengeful prayer.

The news of this disaster reached Mahomet simultaneously with that of Rajî, and greatly afflicted him. Next day, after the morning prayer was concluded, he invoked the Divine vengeance on the perpetrators of both these massacres, saying: "*O Lord! trample under foot in thine indignation the Bani Lahyân, Bani Rîl, Bani Dzakwân*" (and so on, naming the several tribes in succession). "*Make their years like unto the years of Joseph,* for that they have rebelled against God, and rebelled against His Prophet!*" This prayer was offered up in public daily for a month.† The Prophet professed also to have received through Gabriel the following message from the martyrs of Bîr Maûna: "Acquaint our People that we have met our Lord. He is well pleased with us, and we are well pleased with Him."‡

---

which one of the tribe declared that Ibn Foheira, when stabbed, called out, "*I have gained Paradise,*" and straightway ascended in the air to heaven.

There is a multitude of such traditions.

* Alluding to the seven bad years in Pharaoh's dream.

† Some say only fifteen days.

‡ This formed a verse of the Coran; but, for some reason not apparent, was "cancelled" and removed from it. See *Introduction*, vol. i. p. xxv. On receiving the message Mahomet prayed: "O Lord! guide the Bani Aamir to the truth. I seek unto Thee for protection from Aamir ibn Tofail!" The treaty with the two murdered men shows that there had been some degree of friendly communication between Mahomet and the tribe. Perhaps there were divided opinions in the tribe, and the minority had no right to force the majority to receive the Mahometan

Mahomet pays blood-money for two men, wrongly killed as reprisals.

Amr ibn Omeya, one of the survivors, on his way back to Medîna, fell in with two men belonging to a branch of the Bani Aamir, and slew them while asleep, as a reprisal for the massacre at Bîr Maûna. But it turned out that these men were returning from Mahomet, with whom they had just entered into terms. When Amr, therefore, reported what he had done, instead of being praised, he was rebuked by Mahomet, who declared his intention of paying the full blood-money for the two murdered men. The act, indeed, being a breach of truce, was so contrary to the international code of the Arabs, that Aamir ibn Tofail himself sent a despatch to Mahomet, complaining of it. Accordingly, the full compensation in money for the lives of the two men was transmitted to the tribe, together with the booty taken from them.*

The Bani Nadhîr, a Jewish tribe, ordered to leave the country. 1st Rabî, A.H. IV. June, A.D. 625.

The Bani Nadhîr, one of the Jewish tribes inhabiting the vicinity of Medîna, were confederate with the Bani Aamir. Mahomet thought it right, apparently on account of the ill treatment he had received from their allies, that the Bani Nadhîr

---

teachers. The whole treatment by tradition of the massacre, and Mahomet's almost immediately after entering into communication with Aamir ibn Tofail on the subject of the blood-money, looks as if the attack was not so gratuitous and unjustifiable as it is made to appear. Mahomet at first attributed it to Abu Berâ; but Abu Berâ cleared himself. His son attacked Aamir, and struck him with a spear, to show that his father disowned the transaction.

*. *Wackidi*, 343, 354; *Tabari*, 417.

should aid him in defraying the price of blood for the two men murdered by Amr.* Attended by a few followers, he visited their village, which was two or three miles distant,† and laid his request before their chiefs. They answered courteously, promised assistance, and invited him to sit down while they made ready a repast. After sitting thus for a little while, he suddenly arose, and without saying a word to any one, walked out of the assembly. His followers waited long, expecting his return. But they waited in vain, and at length they also arose, and went back to Medîna. They found to their astonishment, that Mahomet had returned straightway to his home, and had given out that his hasty departure from the assembly was caused by a divine intimation that the chiefs of the Bani Nadhîr were seeking treacherously to take his life. It is asserted that they had formed a plot to ascend the roof under which he sat, and roll down great stones upon him. But as his own followers saw nothing to excite suspicion, and as the chapter of the Coran specially devoted to the subject does not hint at any such perfidy, the charge is open to grave suspicion.‡

* M. C. de Perceval thinks the Jews were bound by treaty to assist in the payment of all such fines. But I find no authority for this.

† Apparently it lay to the south of Medîna, as the army in going to the attack passed through Coba, and prayed in the mosque there. *K. Wâckidi*, 109½. The ancient fortalice on the spot was called *Zohara*, near the district of Fûrâ.

‡ Tradition, as usual, sees behind the scenes, and gives the

However this may be, Mahomet resolved that the Bani Nadhîr should no longer remain in the neighbourhood of Medîna. Muhammad son of Maslama (the assassinator of Káb) was commissioned to deliver the command: "*Thus saith the Prophet of the Lord, Ye shall go forth out of my country within the space of ten days: whosoever shall remain behind after that shall be put to death.*" * "O

---

reader the details of the entire conspiracy;—there is a lengthened conversation, in which Huwey is represented as urging the plot, and Amr ibn Jahsh as undertaking to carry it out; Sallâm and Kinâna object to it, on the ground that Mahomet was the Prophet foretold in their books as about to arise at Mecca, and that he would without doubt be supernaturally informed of their scheme. But see *Canon* I. H. vol. i. p. lviii. The evidence is altogether *ex parte*, and cast in the usual mould of fiction.

Mahomet *may* have seen something in the style or demeanour of the Jews which alarmed him for his personal safety (for he was suspicious and timid in this respect); or, to save the credit of Islam, and justify the violent measures resorted to, he may afterwards have conjured up the scene. But that the story was current *at the time*, in the shape given to it by tradition (and which I have perhaps too readily adopted in the text), is hardly to be conceived; otherwise we should undoubtedly have found it mentioned in the Coran, which, as will be seen below, speaks only of "opposition." It will also be noted how glad Mahomet and his followers were, when they found the Jews were resolved to fight. Nothing they desired more than a pretext for war with them.

* In one account it is stated that Muhammad b. Maslama charged them directly with their treachery, and that they held their peace. *Wâckidi*, 358. For the reasons before stated I do not credit this. There are also some conversations given in the stereotyped form, such as the following: "I adjure you by the Towrât," said Muhammad, "tell me whether ye do not remember my visiting you aforetime, when ye said to me, '*Let us either initiate thee into the Catholic Faith of the coming Prophet, or make a*

Muhammad!" said they, on receiving this cruel order, "we did not think that thou, or any other of the Bani Aws, would ever consent to be the bearer of a message such as this." "*Hearts are changed now*," was the only reply, as he turned his back and left them startled and dismayed.

At first, they began to make their preparations for departure. But it was a grievous prospect for them to be exiled from the home of their fathers, from their fertile fields, and their choice groves of date-trees. Abdallah ibn Obey, and the party whose adherence to Mahomet had not yet made them forget the close and ancient obligations which bound them to the Jews, were displeased at the order for their banishment. Abdallah at first strove to bring about a reconciliation.* Failing in this, he is accused of openly attributing the charge of treachery

They refuse, and are besieged.

Jew of thee.' By the Lord! it is as if I but now saw the page which then ye shewed me, written with the testimony of him."—"Yes," replied they, "but this is not the Prophet that is for to come." And so on, in the same style. *Wâckidi*, 358.

* *Wâckidi*, 359. The part taken by Abdallah was natural. That he really broke faith with the Jews in promising them aid, and then holding back, is questionable; for tradition delights to cast contempt and abuse upon Abdallah as the impersonation of disaffection and hypocrisy. See *Canon*, II., *Introd.* v. i. p. lviii. The accusation is, however, made by Mahomet himself in the Coran, as will be seen below, and I have therefore admitted it into the text. The position of Abdallah was very trying. The new faith had penetrated into every branch of the Medîna tribes, and rendered any combined opposition impossible. He probably found it impracticable to fulfil his promise.

to the duplicity of Mahomet,* and of instigating the Bani Nadhîr to resistance, by promising to stand by them with his own people and with his Arab allies. Propped up by this hope, and trusting to the strength of their fortress, they at last resolved to hold fast. So they sent to Mahomet, saying: "We shall not depart from our possessions; do what thou wilt against us." When Mahomet heard this, he cried out in exultation: "*The Jews have resolved to fight!*"*—adding the *takbîr* of joy, GREAT IS THE LORD! which, taken up by his companions, re-echoed throughout the courts of the Mosque.† Arming at once, they made ready for the campaign, and marched forth, Ali carrying the standard, to invest the stronghold of the rebellious tribe. The besiegers were kept at a distance by arrows and stones; but the Bani Nadhîr looked in vain for succour either from Medîna or from the tribes of Najd. The Bani Coreitza, their Jewish brethren, either swayed by their ancient jealousies or fearful of incurring the wrath of the vindictive Prophet, pretended that they could not break their treaty with him, and held aloof. Two years did not elapse before they rued the day on which they made this fatal mistake. Notwithstanding these disappointments, the Bani Nadhîr held out gallantly, and defied all the attempts of their enemy. Ma-

* *Tabari*, p. 420. "When Abdallah heard of it, he said, '*This is the guile of Mahomet!*'"

† *Wâckidi*, 110; *Tabari*, 420.

homet, at last, to hasten their surrender, had recourse to an expedient, unusual, if not wholly unwarranted, according to the laws of Arab warfare. He cut down the surrounding date-trees, and burned the choicest of them to the roots with fire.* The Jews remonstrated against this proceeding as barbarous and cruel; and Mahomet (who needed no such justification for treachery and assassination) felt that his reputation demanded a special order from the Almighty, which was produced accordingly, sanctioning the destruction of his enemy's palm-trees.

Their date-trees are burned.

After the siege had lasted thus for fifteen or twenty days,† the Bani Nadhîr, seeing no prospect of relief, sent to say that they were ready to abandon the lands which had now lost to them their chief value. Mahomet was glad to accede to the offer; for the siege might still have been indefinitely prolonged, and there were dangerous elements around him. They submitted, moreover, to the stipulation that they should leave their arms behind

They submit to the sentence of expatriation.

* Wâckidi instances one notable tree called *Al Lauz*, the fruit of which was bright yellow, and the skin so thin that you could see the stone through it. The Bani Nadhîr, on their palm-trees being cut down, called out from their ramparts: "O Mahomet! thou wert heretofore wont to forbid injustice on the earth, and to rebuke him that committed it. Wherefore, then, hast thou cut down our palm-trees, and burned them with fire?" *Hishâmi*, 287. The passage in the Coran by which he justifies himself by divine command is given in the text below.

† Traditions vary, as to the length of the siege, from fifteen to twenty-five days.

them.* Upon this, Mahomet retired; and the Bani Nadhîr having laden the whole of their property, even to their doors and lintels, upon their camels, set out, with tabrets and music, on the road to Syria. Some of them, with their chiefs Hoyei, Sallâm, and Kinâna, turned aside to Kheibar.† The rest went on to Jericho and the highlands south of Syria.

Two renegades.

Two of their number only abandoned their ancestral faith; and, having embraced Islam, were maintained in the possession of their fields and all their property. Thus early were the inducements of the world brought to bear on the advancement of the creed of Mahomet.‡

The fields of the Bani Nadhîr di-

The spoil consisted of fifty coats of mail, fifty stand of armour complete, and three hundred and forty

---

* *Tabari* gives a tradition that they were allowed a camel and a sword for every three men; but the more received tradition is that they had free permission to carry off all their property, excepting their arms;—they had six hundred camels.

† Sallâm and Kinâna, in the fictitious conversations of tradition, are represented as arguing in favour of Islam. We shall find these chiefs again, at Kheibar, pursued by the relentless Prophet. *Hishâmi*, 282.

‡ The names of the two renegades are recorded ;—*Yamîn* and *Abu Sád*. *Hishâmi*, 282. The former was the cousin of Amr ibn Jahsh, the person charged with the intention of casting down stones on Mahomet. There is a tradition that the Prophet called Yamîn aside and said : " Seest thou not what I have endured at the hands of thy cousin Amr, and what he hath plotted against me ?" So Yamîn hired a man to assassinate his cousin, and thus procured his murder. *Hishâmi*, 282. The story is quite in accordance with the character of Mahomet, as now developing ; but as it is not given by the other biographers, and may therefore be open to some doubt, I have not adopted it.

swords. But of greater importance was the fertile tract now at the disposal of Mahomet. This he claimed as exempt from the usual law of distribution, because it had been gained without actual fighting; and he divided it at his discretion. With the exception of two indigent citizens of Medîna who had distinguished themselves in the field, the whole of the confiscated lands were apportioned among the Refugees, who were now promoted to a position of independence and affluence. Abu Bakr, Omar, Zobeir, and other chief companions of the Prophet, are named among the persons thus endowed with valuable estates.* vided among the refugees.

The expulsion of the Bani Nadhîr was a material triumph for Mahomet. One by one he was breaking up the Jewish settlements in the vicinity, and weakening the cause of disaffection; for a combination, at any period, between the Jews and the other enemies of Islam would have proved critical to his safety at Medîna. A whole Sura is devoted to the victory over the Bani Nadhîr, which is ascribed to the terror struck by the Almighty into their hearts.† The following are extracts from this Sura: Importance of the victory over the Bani Nadhîr. Notices of it in the Coran.

" All that is in the Heavens and in the Earth praiseth God— the Mighty and the Wise. Sura, lix.

" He it is that hath driven forth the unbelieving Jews from

---

* The names of many of the grantees are given by Wâckidi. *Wackidi*, 110.

† This is brought forward as justifying Mahomet in not distributing the booty as ordinary prize.

their habitations* to join the former Exiles.† Ye thought not that they would go forth; and they themselves thought that their Fortresses would defend them against God. But God visited them from a quarter they counted not upon, and cast Terror into their hearts. They destroyed their houses with their own hands, and with the hands of the Believers.‡ Take warning, therefore, ye that have eyes!

"And if God had not decreed against them expatriation, He had verily punished them (otherwise) in this World, and in the World to come there is prepared for them the punishment of Fire:—

"This because they set themselves up against God and his Prophet; and whosoever setteth himself up against God,—verily God is strong in Vengeance.

"That which thou didst cut down of the date-trees, or left of them standing upon their roots, it was by the command of God,—that He might abase the evil-doers.

"And that which God gave unto His Prophet as Booty from them;—ye did not march any horses or camels against the same; but God giveth unto His Prophet dominion over whom He pleaseth; and God is over all things Powerful.

"That which God hath given unto His Prophet from the inhabitants of the Villages (thus surrendering), is for God and the Prophet, and his Kindred, and the Orphan, and the Destitute, and the Wayfarer, that the turn (of Booty) be not confined unto the Rich amongst you. That therefore which the Prophet

---

* *Lit.* "Those that believe not from amongst the People of the Book."

† *Lit.* to join the first gathering or emigration; i.e. *to join the Bani Cainucâa, already exiled.* The Commentators interpret the words to mean, "at the first emigration,"—alluding by prophetic foresight to the *second* that was to follow, when Omar drove the Jews out of the Peninsula. This, however, is an after-thought. I agree with Weil in his note, 197, p. 137.

‡ *i.e.* The Jews destroyed their houses by taking out the doors, &c., and the Believers completed the destruction after their departure.

giveth unto you, receive it; and that which he withholdeth from you, withhold yourselves from the same; and fear God; for God is strong in Vengeance:—

"—It is for the poor of the Refugees,—those who have been driven forth from their homes and from their properties, desiring the grace of God and his favour, and assisting God and his Apostle. These are the sincere (Believers).

"They that were before them in possession of the City,* and the Faith, love those that have taken refuge with them, and find not in their breasts any want of the Booty: they prefer (their Guests) before themselves, even if they themselves be destitute. * * * *

"Hast thou not observed the Disaffected? They say unto their Brethren,—the unbelieving People of the Book, '*If ye be driven forth, we will surely go forth with you. We will never submit concerning you unto any one: and if ye be attacked we shall certainly aid you.*' But God is witness that they are liars. If they are driven forth, these will not go forth with them; and if they be attacked, they will not assist them; and if they were to assist them, they would surely turn their backs, and then they would be bereft of aid.

"Verily ye are the stronger, because of the Terror cast into their breasts from God;†—this, because they are a People devoid of understanding.

"They shall never fight against you unitedly, excepting in fenced Towns, or from behind walls.

"Their warlike strength is mighty among themselves; ye think they are united, but their hearts are divided, because they are a People that doth not comprehend.

"They are like unto those that shortly preceded them;‡ they have tasted the grievous punishment of their undertaking.

---

* Meaning *Medîna*, and the early Believers among the citizens, prior to the arrival of the Refugees from Mecca.

† I take the ordinary interpretation, and do not follow Weil in his note, No. 205.

‡ Alluding again apparently to the exile of the Bani Cainucâa.

"They are like unto Satan, when he said unto Man, '*Become an Infidel;*' and when he had become an Infidel, the Tempter said, '*Verily, I am clear of thee! Verily I fear the Lord of all Worlds:*' —and the end of them both is that they are cast into the Fire, —dwelling for ever therein! That is the reward of the Transgressors."*

Zeid learns Hebrew and Syriac, to qualify himself for the duties of secretary.

Mahomet had hitherto trusted Jewish amanuenses with the transcription of such despatches as he required to be written in the Jewish or Syriac tongues. But his relations were gradually expanding northwards, and he could not trust documents of political importance in the hands of any one belonging to a people who regarded him now, with good reason, as the enemy of their race. About this time therefore he desired a youth of Medîna, Zeid the son of Thâbit, to learn the Hebrew or Syriac language. He had already been taught Arabic by one of the prisoners of Badr. Mahomet now made use of him as a Secretary, both for his vernacular and his foreign despatches. This is the same Zeid,

* *Sura* lix. The Sura ends with a few more verses in the ordinary style. In the peroration Mahomet catches (as every here and there he does to the last,) something of his ancient fire; —"He is the Lord! There is no God besides; knowing both the Visible and the Invisible; He is the All Merciful and Compassionate!

"He is the Lord; there is no God but He!—The King, the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Faithful, the Guardian, the Glorious, the Omnipotent, the Most High:—

"Far exalted is God above that which they associate with Him! He is God, the Creator, the Maker, the Former! His names are the most goodly. All that is in the Heavens and in the Earth praiseth Him. He is the Glorious and the Wise."

afterwards famous as the collector of the Coran into one volume in the Caliphate of Abu Bakr, and the controller of the recension of the same made under the the Caliph Othmân.*

* He was eleven years old when Mahomet arrived in Medîna, and was now therefore fifteen or sixteen. He learned Hebrew (or Syriac) in *half a month*, it is said. Mahomet used to tell him to stick his pen behind his ear,—"for it brought to remembrance that which the distracted mind was seeking after." *K. Wâckidi*, 172½; *Tabari*, 431.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH.

The Fourth and Fifth Years of the Hegira; or from the middle of 625 A.D. *to the end of* 626 A.D.

Ætat 57, 58.

For about one year and a half after the expulsion of the Bani Nadhîr, Medîna was little disturbed by war either of aggression or defence.*

Badr the Second. Mahomet marches to Badr. The Coreish remain at home. Dzul Cada, A.H. IV. Feb. March, A.D. 625.

The summer and autumn of the fourth year of the Hegira passed in perfect peace. At last the time came round when, by the appointment made at Ohod, the forces of Mecca and Medîna were again to meet at Badr. The year was one of great drought, and Abu Sofiân was desirous that the expedition should be deferred to a more plentiful season. Accordingly, the Coreish engaged Nueim, an Arab of

* The genuine remains of the "Campaigns" of Wâckidi, published by H. V. Kremer, end abruptly in the middle of the narrative of the Bani Nadhîr. The rest of the volume is from unauthentic sources. I have greatly felt the want of the full and valuable traditions of Wâckidi in the remainder of my work. For although the Secretary of Wâckidi is an equally authoritative writer, his materials for the campaigns of Mahomet are less copious.

a neutral tribe, to repair to Medîna, and there give forth an exaggerated account of the preparations at Mecca, in the hope that, with the field of Ohod yet fresh in memory, it might deter them from setting out. The Coreish eventually marched from Mecca with two thousand foot and fifty horse, but after one or two days the scarcity of provender forced them to retrace their steps.* The report of Nueim alarmed the inhabitants of Medîna, and a disinclination appeared in some quarters again to meet the enemy. But Mahomet, indignant at this cowardly spirit, or it may be better informed of the real counsels of the Coreish,† declared with an oath that he would go forth to Badr, even if he went alone. This bold front inspired such confidence, that fifteen hundred men,‡ a force more than double of any he had ever before led to battle, rallied round his standard; and they carried with them a great store of wares and merchandise for the annual fair.

---

* There is in the accounts of this affair, the ordinary tendency to depreciate Abu Sofiân; and I should have rejected the story of the emissary, Nueim, altogether, had it not been partly borne out by v. 176 of the third Sura: See below. That the drought and scarcity were very great, is evident from the treaty made shortly after by Mahomet with Ueina for the right of grazing near Medîna. The Meccan army was reduced to live on flour and water. Hence it was called "the army of *Sawîck*." See above, p. 139, note.

† Both suppositions are probable. The large numbers that did go, and their carrying merchandise for the fair, appears as if the expectation had been general that there would be no fighting.

‡ They had *ten* horses.

They maintained a standing camp at Badr for eight days, in defiance of the Coreish, and having bartered their goods to advantage, returned to Medîna.* Mahomet was much pleased at the result of the campaign, and signified the divine approbation in the following revelation :—

Mahomet gratified at the result.

"Those that responded to the call of God and his Prophet, after the wound which they had received,†—to such of them as are virtuous and fear God, there shall be a great reward.

"Certain men said unto them,—'*Verily the people* ‡ *have gathered themselves against you; wherefore be afraid of them.*' But it increased their faith, and they said,—'*God sufficeth for us: He is the best Patron.*' Therefore they returned with a blessing from God, and favour. No evil touched them. They followed after that which is well-pleasing unto God: and God is possessed of boundless grace.

"Verily this devil would cause you to fear his friends; but fear *Me* if ye be believers."§

The Coreish mortified.

The Coreish, mortified at this triumph, began to project another grand attack against Mahomet. But

---

* The chronology of this period is somewhat confused. Hishâmi makes the expedition to Dzât al Ricâ (see below) in the Second Jumâd, *i.e.* some time before the campaign of Badr, and this latter he places in Shabân. But both Wâckidi and his Secretary are consistent in the order I have given. M. C. de Perceval doubts the fair of Badr being held in the month of Dzul Cada; but this also is explicitly stated in my authorities. *K. Wâckidi*, 110; *Wâckidi*, 4.

† *i.e.* at Ohod. ‡ *i.e.* of Mecca.

§ *Sura* iii. vv. 173-176. "*This devil*," is by some commentators applied to Nueim, by others to Abu Sofiân. But Nueim is declared at the battle of the Ditch to be a real, though concealed convert. I am inclined to think that the expression must have reference (unless opposed by grammatical considerations, of which I am not certain,) to the Devil himself.

a year elapsed before the design was carried into execution: meanwhile Medîna enjoyed a respite.

Expedition to Dzât al Ricâ. Moharram, A.H. V. May, A.D. 626.

In the beginning of the fifth year of the Hegira, Mahomet set out with four hundred men,* to disperse certain tribes of the Bani Ghatafân, which were assembling with suspicious purpose at Dzât al Ricâ.† They fled to the mountains at his approach. Mahomet advanced unexpectedly upon their habitations, and carried all their women off. After an absence of fifteen days the party returned to Medîna.‡

* By other accounts seven hundred.

† A range of hills near Al Nukhîl between Al Sad and Al Shucra,—called *the mountain of patches* (Dzât al Ricâ), because composed of red, black, and white masses, it looks like patchwork. So *K. Wâckidi*, 110½. The other derivations of the name are far-fetched.

‡ The Secretary mentions that there was a well-favoured girl among the prisoners, but he does not say what became of her, or indeed any of these females. They were probably ransomed.

One of the tales of Mahomet being placed in jeopardy by the unexpected appearance of a man of the enemy, and supernaturally guarded, is assigned to this expedition. See Introd. v. i. p. lxxx. *note.*

A story illustrative of the kind and unbending manner by which Mahûmet engaged the affections of his followers, may be briefly recounted here, as it relates to the present expedition. Jâbir, a poor citizen, son of a man slain at Ohod, was mounted on a wretched camel, which Mahomet (after miraculously transforming from a slow into a very rapid walker) said he would buy from him. He spoke to Jâbir kindly concerning his father, and five-and-twenty times invoked mercy on him. Then in a livelier strain,—"Hast thou married lately?" Jâbir replied, "Yes." "A maiden, or one that had before been married?" "The latter," said Jâbir. "And why not a young damsel, who would have sported with thee, and thou with her?" "My father," he explained,

The *Service of Danger.*

It was in this short campaign that the "Service of Danger" was introduced. Fearing that the enemy would attempt a surprise and rescue their women, a part of the army was kept constantly under arms. The public prayers were therefore repeated twice,—one division watching while the other prayed. I quote below the revelation which sanctions this practice, less for its own interest, than to illustrate the tendency of the Coran now to become the vehicle of military commands. In the Coran, victories are announced, success promised, actions recounted; failure is explained, bravery applauded, cowardice or disobedience chided; military or political movements are directed;—and all this as an immediate communication from the Deity. The following verses resemble in part what one might expect to find in the "General Orders" of some Puritan leader, or commander of a crusade in the Holy Land:—

The Coran, a vehicle for "General Orders."

"When ye march abroad in the earth, it shall be no crime unto you that ye shorten your prayers, if ye fear that the unbelievers may attack you; for the unbelievers are an open enemy unto you.

"left seven daughters, so I married a woman of experience, able to guide them." "Thou hast done well," rejoined Mahomet. (He might here himself have learned a lesson from his humble follower.) "Now when we reach thy home at Sarûr, we shall kill a camel and rest there, and thy wife will hear of it and will spread carpets for us."—"But, O Prophet! I have not any carpets."—"We shall get them for thee: do therefore as I have said." So they had the entertainment at Sarûr. On Mahomet's returning home, Jûbir took the camel to him, when Mahomet not only gave him its full price, but also returned the camel itself. Jûbir, thus set up in life, prospered greatly. *Hishami*, 283.

"And when thou art amongst them, and leadest their prayers, let one division of them arise to prayer with thee, taking their weapons with them, and when they have worshipped, let them remove behind you. Then let the other division come up that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them take their due precaution and their weapons. The unbelievers would that ye should neglect your weapons and your baggage; then would they fall upon you with one onset. It shall be no crime unto you, if ye be incommoded by rain, or if ye be sick, that ye lay down your weapons; but take your due precaution. Verily God hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious punishment."*

Campaign to Dûmat al Jandal. 1st Rabî, A.H. V. July, A.D. 626.

During the summer, another campaign was undertaken by Mahomet. It was in the direction of Dûmat al Jandal,† on the borders of Syria, midway between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia, where marauding bands, driven to violence by the prevailing famine, were plundering travellers, and even threatened a raid upon Medîna. It is not quite certain whether Mahomet reached so far as Dûma, or whether he contented himself with capturing the herds which grazed in the neighbourhood. The robbers fled without offering any opposition. This expedition is touched very lightly upon by tradition, being disposed of in a brief notice of two or three lines; but it occupied in reality an important position. Mahomet, followed by a thousand men, reached the confines of Syria; distant tribes learned the terror of his name; the political horizon of the Prophet was greatly extended; the lust of plunder in the hearts

* *Sura*, iv. 100-102.

† Now Al Jof, or Jûl al Jawf. Wâckidi says it is five days' journey from Damascus, and fifteen from Medîna. It will be farther described hereafter.

of his people acquired a far wider range; while the Moslem forces were inured, at the hottest season of the year, to long and fatiguing marches. The army was absent for nearly a month.* On his way back, Mahomet entered into a treaty with Ueina, a powerful chieftain of the Fezâra, giving him the right to graze on certain tracts of table land to the east of Medîna, where, notwithstanding the drought, forage was still procurable.†

Mahomet marries a fourth wife, *Zeinab bint Khozeima*. Ramadhân, A.H. IV. Dec. A.D. 625.

It is necessary now to turn to what was passing within the home of Mahomet. The reader has already been made acquainted with his three wives, Sawda, Ayesha, and Haphsa. After his marriage with Haphsa, in the middle of the third year of the Hegira, he contracted no new nuptials for some time. But in the ninth month of the Fourth year, he espoused Zeinab daughter of Khozeima, the widow of his cousin Obeida, who had been killed at Badr.‡ She was called "the Mother of the Poor," from her care of the destitute converts. Zeinab was

* Mahomet, it is said, left Medîna five days before the end of Rabi I., and returned ten days before the end of Rabi II. But if Dûma be fifteen marches from Medîna, and he reached or nearly reached it, he must have been absent more than twenty-five days, —especially as he spent some days in the Dûma territory.

† *K. Wâckidi*, p. 111. The place is called Taghlamîn, two Arabian miles from Al Mirâdh, on the road to Rabadha. Mirâdh is given as thirty-six Arabian miles from Medîna. Thus the influence and authority of Mahomet was rapidly expanding. The district of Rabadha was, after Mahomet's death, annexed to the territory of Medîna. *C. de Perceval*, iii. 348, 353; *K. Wâckidi*, 116.

‡ The date of the marriage is given by Tabari, p. 409. See also above, vol. ii. p. 106.

the only one of the Prophet's wives (excepting always Khadîja) who died before him.

And a fifth, *Omm Salma.*

Within another month, he sought the hand of a fifth wife. Omm Salma was the widow of Abu Salma, to whom she had borne several children. Both had been exiles to Abyssinia, from whence they had returned to Medîna. At Ohod Abu Salma was wounded, but he had partially recovered,* when the wound broke out afresh. Mahomet visited his death-bed. He was breathing his last, and the women wailed loudly. "Hush!" said the Prophet, as he entered. "Invoke not on yourselves aught but what is good; for verily the angels are present with the dying man, and say *Amen* to that which ye pray. *O Lord! give unto him width and comfort in his grave: Lighten his darkness: Pardon his sins: Raise him to Paradise: Exalt his rank among the Blessed; and raise up faithful followers from his seed!* Ye indeed are looking at the fixed eyes, but the sight itself hath already followed the dead." So saying, he drew the palm of his hand over the eyes of his departed friend, and closed them. It was eight months after the battle of Ohod, when Abu Salma died; and four months later, Mahomet married his widow. One of her children was also brought up by him.†

Shawwâl, A.H. IV. Jan. A.D. 626.

His prayer at the death-bed of her previous husband.

* The recovery must have been almost complete, as he commanded the expedition to Catan, three months after Ohod. See above, p. 199.

† Namely Omar, who was probably an infant at the time of Mahomet's marrying her. For Abu Salma, see vol. ii. p. 106.

Mahomet marries *Zeinab bint Jahsh*, after she had been divorced by his adopted son, Zeid. Safar, A.H. V. June, A.D. 626.

The numerous marriages of Mahomet failed to confine his inclinations within the ample circuit of his harem. Rather its multiplied attractions weakened restraint; and stimulated desire after new and varied charms. On a certain day, the Prophet visited, as he often did, the house of Zeid, his freed-man and adopted son. Zeid was not at home; his wife Zeinab invited him to enter, and starting up in her loose and scanty dress, made haste to array herself for his reception. But the beauties of her figure through the half opened door had already been too freely unveiled before the licentious gaze of Mahomet. He was smitten by the sight:—"*Gracious God Almighty!*" he exclaimed; "*Gracious God! how thou turnest the hearts of mankind!*" These rapturous words were repeated, as he turned to depart, in a low voice; but they were uttered distinctly enough to be heard by Zeinab, who perceived the flame she had kindled; and, proud of her conquest, she was nothing loth to tell her husband of it on his return. Zeid went straightway to Mahomet, and declared his readiness to divorce Zeinab for him. This Mahomet declined: "Keep thy wife to thyself," he said, "and fear God." But Zeid could plainly see that these words proceeded from unwilling lips, and that the Prophet had still a longing eye for Zeinab. Perhaps he did not care to keep her, when he found that she desired to leave him, and was ambitious of the new and distinguished alliance. Accordingly he completed

the divorce. Mahomet still hesitated. There might be little scandal according to Arab morals in seeking the hand of a married woman whose husband had no wish to retain her; but the husband in the present case was Mahomet's adopted son, and even in Arabia such a union was held to be illicit. Still the passion for Zeinab could not be smothered; it continued to burn within the heart of Mahomet, and at last, bursting forth, scattered all other considerations to the winds. Sitting one day with Ayesha, the prophetic ecstasy appeared to come over him. As he recovered, he smiled joyfully and said, "who will go and congratulate Zeinab, and say that the Lord hath joined her to me in marriage."* His maid Solma made haste to carry the glad news to Zeinab, who showed her delight by bestowing on the messenger all the jewels she had upon her person. Mahomet delayed not to fulfil the Divine behest, and took Zeinab to his bed.†

* Ayesha says, according to this tradition, that Mahomet immediately recited the Divine command to marry Zeinab, in the words of *Sura*, xxxiii. v. 36.; but this verse is rather in the recitative style of a past event, and probably followed the marriage.

† Some traditions say that he waited the period of divorce, that is, three months, before marrying. But the rule prescribing this interval had not, I believe, been then ordained. During the expedition to Kheibar, we shall see that in the case of a subsequent marriage, Mahomet did not observe the delay; so that he either considered himself personally exempt from the rule, or it was not revealed till after that campaign.

I have followed Tabari very closely, pp. 431-433—the fullest of the early authorities I have met with. He gives a second narrative, differing only in this that, as Mahomet waited at Zeid's door,

And supports the marriage by a divine command and revelation.

The marriage caused much obloquy, and to save his reputation, Mahomet had the impious effrontery to sanction it by a special Revelation from on high, in which the Almighty is represented as formally recording a divine warrant for the union, disallowing objections on the score of adoptive affinity, and even reprehending the Prophet for his scruples and his fear of man:—

"And when thou saidst to him on whom God hath bestowed Favour, and upon whom thou too hast bestowed favours:* '*Keep thy Wife to thyself, and fear God;*' and thou concealedst in thy mind what God was about to make known, and thou fearedst man, —whereas God is more worthy that thou shouldst fear him.

"And when Zeid had fulfilled her divorce,† WE joined thee in marriage unto her, that there might be no offence chargeable to Believers in marrying the Wives of their adopted sons, when they have fulfilled their Divorce; and the command of God is to be fulfilled.

---

the wind blew aside the curtain of Zeinab's chamber and disclosed her in a scanty undress. After Zeid had divorced her, Mahomet asked him whether he had seen anything to dislike in her. "Nothing," he replied, "only good." Ayesha relates that strange misgivings arose in her heart (as they well might) when she heard the Divine message commanding the marriage, and called to mind the beauty of Zeinab, lest she should glory over the other wives of Mahomet as his Divinely appointed bride. We learn from tradition that Zeinab did thus vaunt herself, saying, that *God had given her in marriage to his Prophet, whereas the other wives were given by their relatives.* See *Sale on S.* xxxiii. v. 36.

* Meaning Zeid, on whom Mahomet had bestowed freedom, and farther favoured by adopting him. In the following verse he is mentioned *by name*,—a singular instance, which differs from the universal practice of the Coran elsewhere. No other follower or contemporary is mentioned *by name;* Mahomet probably thought such a practice inconsistent with the dignity of a message from heaven.

† *Lit.* "Fulfilled the matter concerning her."

"There is no offence chargeable to the Prophet in that which God hath enjoined upon him according to the ordinance of God regarding those that preceded him (and the command of God is a predestined Decree):—

"Those who conveyed the Messages of God, and feared him, and feared none but God, and God is a sufficient accountant.

"Mahomet is not the Father of any man amongst you. Rather he is the Apostle of God, and the Seal of the Prophets; and God knoweth all things.

* * * * *

"God hath not given to a man two hearts within him * * * Nor hath he made your adopted sons your (real) sons. This your speech proceedeth from your mouths; but God speaketh the Truth; and he directeth in the right way. Let your adopted sons go by their own fathers' names. This is more just with God."*

Scandal of the transaction thus removed.

The scandal of the marriage was removed by this extraordinary revelation, and Zeid was thenceforward called not "the son of Mahomet," as heretofore, but by his proper name, "Zeid, the son of Hârith." Our only matter of wonder is, that the Revelations of Mahomet continued after this to be regarded by his people as inspired communications from the Almighty, when they were so palpably formed to secure his own objects, and pander even to his evil desires. We hear of no doubts or questionings; and we can only attribute the confiding and credulous spirit of his followers to the absolute ascendancy of his powerful mind over all who came within its influence.

The *Veil* or curtain imposed on Mahomet's wives.

The seclusion of the *Veil* or curtain was at this time enjoined upon the wives of Mahomet. Himself well stricken in years, surrounded by six wives,

* *Sura*, xxxiii. 4, 5, 36-39.

some of whom were young, sprightly, and beautiful, and living as he did with his family in the midst of a continual concourse of courtiers and visitors, worshippers and suitors, such a restriction was needed. Indeed, he had himself proved, in the case of Zeinab, the danger arising from the free admission of friends or strangers; and his followers could hardly expect to be more exempt from temptation than their Prophet. The command to take the veil, as usual, comes from heaven; and the jealousy of Mahomet's heart is further allayed by the Divine prohibition that his wives shall never marry again, even after his death. Henceforward, they are to be called "*The Mothers of the Faithful.*" The following is the passage:—How has the fine gold become dim!

"O ye that believe! Enter not the Habitations of the Prophet, except it be permitted you to eat bread, without waiting his convenient time. But when ye are bidden, then enter; and when ye have eaten, then disperse. And be not familiar in discourse,—Verily that giveth uneasiness to the Prophet. It shameth him (to speak thus) to you: but God is not ashamed of the Truth. And when ye ask anything of his women, ask it of them from behind a curtain;* that will be more pure for your hearts and for their hearts. It is not fitting for you that ye give uneasiness to the Apostle of God, nor that ye should marry his wives after him at any time:—Verily that would be an enormity in the sight of God. * * * * *

"The Prophet is nearer unto the Believers than their own Souls, and his Wives are their Mothers."†

---

* Or veil.

† *Sura*, xxxiii. vv. 6 and 50. In v. 52, the fathers, sons, nephews, and slaves, of the Prophet's wives are exempted from

Moslem women to be partly veiled when walking abroad.

Certain restrictions, but of a far less stringent nature, were about this time placed upon the dress and demeanour of all believing women. These were exposed in their walks abroad to the rude remarks of disaffected and licentious citizens; they were therefore commanded to throw their garments around them so as partially to veil their persons, and conceal their ornaments. The men who thus troubled the Moslem females were threatened with expulsion and with a general slaughter.

"O Prophet! Speak unto thy Wives and thy Daughters, and the Wives of the Believers, that they throw around them a part of their Mantles. This will be more seemly, that they may be recognized,* and may not be subject to annoyance; and God is Gracious and Merciful.

"And truly, if the Disaffected, and they in whose hearts is a disease,† and the propagators of falsehoods in the City, hold not back, WE shall surely stir thee up against them. Then they shall not be permitted to live near unto thee therein, but for a little. Accursed! Wherever they are found, they shall be taken and killed with a great slaughter. It is the wont of God in the case of those that have gone before. And these shall not find in the wont of God any variation."‡

---

the restriction. There is a good deal more in a strain similar to that which I have quoted; but farther extracts would only weary the reader.

* Recognized, that is, as women of reputation.

† *i.e.* Of incontinency.

‡ *Sura* xxxiii, v. 56. See also *Sura* xxiv. v. 32. "Speak unto the Believing women that they restrain their eyes, and preserve their chastity; and display not their ornaments, except what appeareth thereof; and let them throw their veils over their bosoms; and let them not display their ornaments except to their husbands, fathers, &c. And let them not shake their feet that their hidden ornaments be discovered."

Rules for entering the houses, &c. of neighbours.

Rules and precautions were also prescribed to regulate the visits of strangers to their neighbours' houses, and to prevent the privacy of believers from being intruded upon without due warning.*

These restrictions rendered necessary by the loose code of the Coran.

The truth is that the extreme license of Polygamy and Divorce permitted to his followers by Mahomet rendered these safeguards necessary. Such license would not, without gross and flagrant immorality, be compatible with the free and open intercourse of European society. It would not in any nation be tolerable, without restrictions which fetter and degrade the female sex.†

---

* *Sura*, xxiv. Believers are forbidden to enter any house but their own (even if there be no one inside) until they have first asked leave and saluted the family, vv. 28–30. Three times during the day, *i. e.* before morning prayer, at the time of the siesta, and after evening prayer, even slaves and young children (who are otherwise excepted) must ask permission before entering an apartment, 59, 60. Women past child-bearing may alone dispense with the outer garment, 61. The sick, and certain near relatives, are exempted from the prohibition of dining familiarly in each other's inner apartments, 62. Sale, it appears to me, has not apprehended the right bearing of this last verse. *Vide in loco.*

† On this account the introduction of European manners and customs into Mahometan society, is altogether to be deprecated. The licentiousness of the *system*, without the present checks, cruel and unnatural as they are, would certainly create in Mussulman countries, an utter dissolution of morality, already at a sufficiently low ebb. Let the state of things be conceived, in the open and unrestricted society of Europe, if, from an unlimited facility of divorce (besides the right of polygamy and servile concubinage), the marriage tie were left to the simple will and fancy of the husband;—if any man might look upon any married woman (near relatives excepted) as within his reach by marriage, the present husband consenting; if, every married woman felt like Zeinab bint Jahsh, that she might become the lawful wife of any

A goodly row of houses now formed the eastern side of the Mosque: these were the Prophet's "habitations," one of which was erected on every fresh marriage for the accommodation of his bride. Mahomet professed to share his time equally amongst

Visiting his wives out of their turn permitted to Mahomet by Divine sanction.

man whom she might captivate, and who could persuade her husband to pronounce a divorce! the foundations of society would be broken up.

I have nowhere met with a more forcible illustration of the natural results of the principles of the Coran in respect of Marriage than in a paper on the Malays of Penang. Their strange propensity to *run a muck*, which has become proverbial, is justly traced to the law of Polygamy and Divorce:—"A man observes the neglect of his wife, knows how easily she may be separated from him, broods over the result, and may be led into that state of mind" (*i.e.* of an *Amok*). He "views with jealousy any attentions of another man to his wife, and a fancied reciprocation on the woman's part leads to the direst results .... Divorces are so easily accomplished that the most abominable licentiousness is promoted, and the fine feelings that characterize the union of the sexes under the Christian dispensation are unknown .... Young men of thirty to thirty-five years of age may be met with who have had from fifteen to twenty wives, and children by several of them. These women have been divorced, married others, and had families by them."—*Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii. No. 2, p. 143.

Burkhardt tells us, of an Arab, forty-five years old, who had had fifty wives; so that he must have divorced two wives and married two fresh ones on the average nearly every year. We have cases of Mahomet's own "Companions" not much better. This is the natural and *legitimate* effect of the Law.

Wherever Mahometan society is otherwise, it is owing to the accident of position or custom. The natural propriety and *humanity* of Monogamy and of the indissolubility of the marriage tie, has with many individuals and many classes (as among some families of Pathans in India), to some extent introduced a purer practice in supercession of that prescribed by the Coran, and notwithstanding its temptations. But this abstinence from

his wives, passing a day and night in the house of each successively. Thus their turn was known as "the day of Sawda,"—"the day of Zeinab," and so on. Yet Ayesha maintained her pre-eminence in this as in all other respects; and, however much there may have been a formal circuit of the harem, reducing nominally her portion to one day in six, still hers was the most frequented of the apartments of all his wives, and best deserved the name of the Prophet's *home.* The irregularity of his attentions at length provoked a natural discontent; and Mahomet did not scruple to release himself from the obligation of consorting with his wives equally, and in undeviating order, by producing a command from Heaven.*

---

excess cannot be carried to the credit of the system introduced by Mahomet. It is owing, *in spite of that system*, to the antiseptic tendencies still maintained by the Deity in human nature.

* "Postpone any of them (thy wives) thou mayest wish; and admit unto thyself her whom thou choosest, as well as her whom thou mayest desire of those whom thou hadst put aside; it will be no offence in thee. This will be easier, that they may be satisfied, and not repine, but be all content with that thou givest unto them." *Sura* xxxiii, 48.

A passage follows which was probably given forth at a later period, for in this Sura are collected a variety of precepts, of different stages, all relating to the treatment of women:—"No more Women are lawful unto thee after this: nor that thou shouldest exchange any of thy wives for them, even though their beauty fascinate thee, excepting those (slave girls) that thy right hand may possess, and God observeth all things." *Ibid.* v. 49.

Some Commentators think that this prohibition was abrogated by the verse (47), which makes lawful to the Prophet in marriage any of his maternal or paternal cousins, and any believing woman who willingly surrenders herself to him. Others say that the passage was revealed after his number of nine wives was completed

The burlesque on inspiration could hardly be carried beyond this point. Yet the command was gravely incorporated in the Coran (whether Mahomet intended that it should be so, we have no means of deciding); and to this day it is recited in its course, as part of the Word of God, in the worship of every Mussulman, and of every Mosque!

It is a relief to turn for a time from these unworthy passages, to other scenes in the life of Mahomet.

Mahomet attacks and takes captive the Bani Mustalick. Shaban, A.H. V. Dec. A.D. 626.

About three months after his return from Dûma, rumours reached the Prophet of new projects against him, in the direction of Mecca. The Bani Mustalick, a branch of the Khozâa, hitherto friendly to his cause, were now raising forces with the view of joining the Coreish in the threatened attack on Medîna. He resolved by a bold inroad to prevent their design. All the fighting men of Medîna rallied round him; and a great multitude of those hitherto lukewarm in the interests of Islam, with Abdallah ibn Obey at their head, desirous to maintain a friendly appearance, or allured by the hope of plunder, joined his standard. Mahomet could now muster thirty well appointed horse.* After a march of eight days

In the latter case, it is to be noted that the addition of slave girls, as concubines, is still permitted *ad libitum*. The former interpretation supposes a fraud, which one would willingly believe Mahomet innocent of; for the "prohibition" was in the manner of a guarantee to his existing wives, which he had no right to abrogate.

* Of these, twenty belonged to the Citizens and ten to the

he encamped at the wells of Muraisî, near the sea-shore, some marches short of Mecca.* Here he had a tent pitched for himself and for Ayesha and Omm Salma, who accompanied him. The tidings of his approach carried dismay into the ranks of the Bani Mustalick, and caused all their allies to fall away from them. The overpowering force advanced; and, after a brisk discharge of archery, closed so rapidly on the enemy, that the whole were surrounded and taken prisoner, with their families, and their herds and flocks.† Two hundred families, two thousand camels, and five thousand sheep and goats, besides much household goods, formed the booty. It was divided in the usual manner.‡

Refugees. The standard of the latter was held by Abu Bakr, of the former by Sád ibn Obâda.

* It is described as a day's march from Al Furú, which is eight stages from Medîna. *K. Wâckidi*, p. 111. It is also said by Hishâmi to be near Cudeid, p. 311.

† Ten men of the Mustalick were killed,—only one on Mahomet's side, and that by an erring shot from a Moslem.

There are other respectable traditions which say that Mahomet *surprised* the Bani Mustalick by rapid marches, and fell unexpectedly upon them. The completeness of the capture would seem to strengthen this view. But the Secretary of Wâckidi gives his decision in favour of the narrative in the text.

‡ The household stuff was sold to the highest bidder, on the spot. In the division of the spoil a camel was reckoned equal to ten sheep or goats. Some say it was on this occasion that the law was introduced for giving each horseman *three* times the share of a footman,—two shares heing reckoned for the horse. Mahomet, it is said, desired by this inducement to encourage the development of cavalry in his army.'''

Altercation between the citizens and the refugees.

The army remained encamped for several days at the Wells of Moraisî. In this interval an altercation sprang up between Sinân, a citizen, and Jahja, a refugee, the servant of Omar. Jahja struck the other a blow, and the citizens of Medîna rushing upon him to avenge their comrade's insult, Jahja cried loudly on the Refugees for aid. High words and threats passed on both sides, swords were drawn, and the result might have been serious, had not Sinân been persuaded to withdraw his complaint and forgive the injury. During the quarrel, the disaffected party gave free expression to murmurs against the insolence of the Refugees: "This," said Abdallah plainly, "ye have brought upon yourselves, by inviting these strangers to dwell amongst us. When we return to Medîna, the Mightier shall surely expel the Meaner!"*

Mahomet orders an immediate march.

Mahomet no sooner heard of the strife, and of the violent language of Abdallah, than he gave orders for an immediate march.† The discontent of the Citizens and the momentary antagonism betwixt them and the Refugees, if allowed to spread, would have been dangerous to his safety. By

* Or, "The Stronger shall surely expel the Weaker."

† There is a very different tradition given in H. V. Kremer's edition of Wâckidi, but it is in the apocryphal portion of the volume, and evidently rests on poor authority. It represents the sudden and hasty march back as caused by the apprehension of an attack, for the rescue of the prisoners, by the B. Mustalick. There is no reason, I think, for doubting the received narrative.

breaking up the camp, and at once ordering a long and wearisome march, he hoped to divert men's minds from the events of the morning and make the quarrel to die away. Therefore, though the hour was still early and unseasonable, and although amity had apparently been re-established, Mahomet started without delay, and kept the army marching the whole of that day and night and the following day, till the sun was high. Then he halted, and the force, overpowered with fatigue, was soon asleep. From thence they proceeded onwards to Medîna by regular marches.*

Abdallah and the disaffected citizens reprimanded in the Coran.

Abdallah protested to Mahomet, apparently before the army moved, that he had not made use of the expressions attributed to him; and Mahomet, although some of his followers counselled severe and decisive measures, received his excuse with civility. When Abdallah was being hardly handled by his fanatical son, who tried to extort from him the confession that *he* was the *Meaner*, and Mahomet the *Mightier*,† the Prophet chancing to pass by inter-

* On the march back there was a tremendous storm; on which it is said that Mahomet desired his followers not to be alarmed, as it merely portended the death of one of his leading enemies. On reaching Medîna, they found that Rufâa, a chief of the Cainucâa, and a promoter of disaffection, had died that very night. *Hishâmi*, 312.

† There are worse actions than this attributed to Abdallah's son. He offered to bring his father's head, if Mahomet desired it; saying—"If he is to be killed, I will do it myself. If any other man commits the deed, the Devil will tempt me to avenge my father's

fered and said,—"Leave him alone! For, by my life! so long as he remaineth with us, we shall make his companionship pleasant unto him." Still, when he returned to Medîna and found himself again firmly fixed in the affections of the citizens, Mahomet deemed it necessary to administer to Abdallah and his followers a public reprimand, and his bitter feelings found expression in the sixty-third Sura. The heavenly message therein conveyed, contains a curse against the insincere and disaffected professors of Islam; and the quotation in that Sura of the very words attributed to Abdallah, fixed the point of the divine reprimand against him, and shewed significantly that Mahomet did not credit his denial. *

---

blood: and by killing a Believer for an Unbeliever, I shall go to Hell. Suffer me to kill him myself!" *Hishâmi*, p. 313.

Omar also is said to have counselled Mahomet at Moraisî to put Abdallah to death. But Mahomet replied—"Omar! How will it be if men should say that Mahomet killeth his own followers? nay, but let us give orders for an immediate march." In after days when Abdallah's authority waned, and he was treated without reverence even by his own people, Mahomet reminded Omar of his advice on this occasion, and asked whether it was not far better to have reserved him for this fate, than to have put him to death. Omar confessed the wisdom of the Prophet.

I view, however, all these traditions with suspicion,—they are too much of one type, always introducing Omar, &c., with the same violent and intolerant language which the success and conquests of Islam gave rise to in later days, but which would hardly have been suitable, or even thought of, when the party of the Disaffected was still so strong at Medîna.

* The following is the passage alluded to:—"When the Disaffected come unto thee, they say: '*We testify that thou art the Prophet of God:*' and God knoweth that thou art his Prophet,

Mahomet marries *Juweiria,* daughter of the Mustalick chief: his seventh wife.

The captives of the Bani Mustalick, having been carried to Medîna with the rest of the booty, men from their tribe soon arrived to make terms for their release. Juweiria, the daughter of their chief, fell to the lot of a citizen, who, taking advantage of her rank and comeliness, fixed her ransom at nine ounces of gold.* Despairing to raise so large a sum, she ventured into the presence of the Prophet, while seated in the apartment of Ayesha, and pleaded for some remission of the heavy price demanded for

---

and God testifieth that the Disaffected are liars. They take their oaths as a Shield, and they turn men aside from the way of God; verily it is evil, that which they do:—This because they believed, and afterwards disbelieved; Wherefore, their hearts are sealed, and they understand not. When thou seest them, thou admirest them; but when they speak, thou listenest to their words, as if they were logs set up (against the wall);† they fancy every cry is against themselves. They are enemies. Beware of them! God curse them! How are they turned unto lies!

"And when it is said unto them: '*Come! let the Prophet of God ask pardon for you;*' they avert their heads, and ye see them turn aside, puffed up with pride. It is the same for them whether thou askest pardon for them, or dost not ask pardon for them. God will not pardon them. God doth not guide wicked men unto the truth.

"These are they which say: '*Do not expend your Wealth upon those who are with the Prophet of God, and so they will disperse;*'—Whereas unto God belong the treasures of the Heavens and of the Earth: but the Disaffected understand not.

"They say: '*When we return unto Medîna, verily the Mightier shall expel from thence the Meaner:*' Whereas Might belongeth unto God and his Prophet, and the Believers: but the Disaffected do not comprehend." *Sura* lxiii.

* The ordinary ransom of a woman or child was ten camels.

† *i.e.* they are equally devoid of sense.

her freedom. Ayesha no sooner saw her than, well knowing the susceptibility of Mahomet, her jealously prognosticated what was about to take place, for the damsel was fair to look upon, and of a winning carriage. Mahomet listened to her supplication.—"Wilt thou hearken," he said in reply, "to something better than that thou askest of me?" Surprised by the gentle accents of the conqueror, she inquired what that might be: "Even that I should pay thy ransom, and marry thee myself!" The damsel expressed her consent; the ransom was paid; and Mahomet, taking her at once to wife, built a seventh house for her reception.] As soon as the marriage was noised abroad, the people said that the Bani Mustalick were now become their relatives, and that the rest of the prisoners should go free, as Juweiria's dower; "and no woman," said Ayesha, telling the story in after days, "was ever a greater blessing to her people than this Juweiria."*

---

* *K. Wâckidi*, 111½; *Hishami*, 313. Some traditions say that Mahomet liberated *all* the prisoners, as her dower; others say *forty* persons; others again that one *hundred* captives gained their freedom;—the people letting them go without ransom so soon as they heard of the marriage. I have adopted the likeliest version.

I am not by any means certain that Mahomet's marriage with Juweiria, did not take place whilst the army was encamped at the wells of Muraisî; for Mahomet was absent twenty-eight days in this expedition (Wâckidi); during ten of which he must have halted there. This would allow ample time for the negotiations of ransom, &c. Wâckidi also says that only *some* of the women were brought to Medîna.

In this view we may suppose the interview between Mahomet

Ayesha falls into trouble.

But a severer trial than the advent of a new rival hung over Ayesha; her honour was about to be called in question.

Her misadventure on the march, with Safwân.

The wives of Mahomet, when they marched with him, travelled each in a litter carried by a camel. Since the order for the veil, this litter had been carefully shrouded from the public gaze. It was placed before the door of the tent, and at the hour of marching, the lady entered it in seclusion, and adjusted the curtains; the servants then approached and lifted it upon the camel. On the day on which the army re-entered Medîna, from the expedition against the Bani Mustalick, the camel of Ayesha was brought at the end of the journey to her door, near the Mosque; but when the litter was opened it was found to be empty.* Shortly after Safwân, one of the Refugees, appeared leading his camel, with Ayesha seated upon it. Ayesha explained that just before the time of marching, having occasion to go to some little distance from her tent, she dropped her necklace of Yemen beads. On coming to her litter, she perceived that it was lost, and went back to seek for it. Meanwhile the bearers came up, and imagin-

---

and Juweiria to have occurred in Ayesha's *tent*. And if so, the marriage *preceded* the misadventure of Ayesha with Safwân. May not her vexation and reasonable jealousy at the vagrancy of Mahomet's affections have had some connection with the scene I am about to recount?

* As explained above, both Ayesha and Omm Salma were with Mahomet in this trip.

ing Ayesha to be within, (for she was yet slender and slight in figure),* lifted the litter according to custom, and led the camel away. On her return, Ayesha was astonished to find the place deserted, and no one left anywhere in sight.† So, expecting that the mistake would be soon discovered, and the litter brought back, she wrapped her clothes around her and sat patiently on the ground. Meanwhile, Safwân, who had been also accidentally detained, passed by, and reconizing Ayesha, expressed surprise at finding one of the Prophet's wives in this predicament. She did not answer him. No other words (so Ayesha declared) passed between them; but Safwân brought his camel near her, and turning his face in the opposite direction, desired her to mount. When she was seated, he approached, and taking hold of the halter, led the camel towards Medîna. Though he made every haste, he could not overtake the army; and thus they entered the city before the gaze of the people, and some time after the other travellers had all alighted.

Mahomet's estrangement from her.

The scandal-loving Arabs were not slow in drawing the worst conclusions from this inoppor-

* Being light in weight, her absence from the litter made little difference in its heaviness. Ayesha explains the slenderness of her figure by saying that the Prophet's wives had hitherto lived on a light diet of barley or pulse. They had not yet the indulgence of meat. But see Canon II. B. p. lx. vol. i.

† We must suppose that her tent was very light, easily taken down, laden, and carried off, so soon as she was supposed to have entered the litter.

tune occurrence. The reports soon reached the ears of Mahomet and caused him great uneasiness. Ayesha felt the change of his manner towards her, and (though professing to be ignorant, till some time after of the cause) it preyed upon her mind. She fell sick, and finding his indifference to be still maintained, obtained permission of Mahomet to return to her father's house.

Scandal occasioned by the occurrence in Medîna.

The estrangement of Mahomet from his favourite wife strengthened the grounds for her defamation. Her fall was gloried over by those who bore no love to the Prophet, and became a topic of malicious conversation even among some of his staunch adherents. At the head of the former was Abdallah ibn Obey; and foremost among the latter were Mistah (a relative and dependent of Abu Bakr), the Poet Hassân, and Hamna, daughter of Jahsh, who rejoiced over the dishonour of her sister Zeinab's rival.*

Mahomet chides his followers for meddling in the matter.

When matters had gone on thus for a month, Mahomet resolved to put an end to the scandal. So he mounted the pulpit, and sharply reprimanded his followers: "O ye people!" he said, "what concern is it of others that they should disquiet me in affairs touching my family, and that they should unjustly blame them! Whereas, I myself know con-

* Ayesha says:—"Now Hamna took up the scandal, because she was sister of Zeinab, daughter of Jahsh (formerly wife of Zeid); and there was none that dared to put herself in competition with me, but Zeinab only. She herself said nothing bad, but her sister did so, envying me because of my superiority to Zeinab." *Hishâmi*, p. 316.

cerning my family nought but that which is good. And moreover ye have traduced a man, regarding whom likewise I know not aught but what is good." Then Oseid, a leader of the Bani Aws, arose and swore that he would punish the delinquents, even to death, if the Prophet would but give permission. On this an altercation sprang up between him and the Bani Khazraj, to whom the chief offenders amongst the citizens belonged.* The quarrel was with some difficulty appeased by Mahomet, who then left the Mosque and proceeded to the house of Abu Bakr.

He consults Osâma and Ali.

There, having called to him Osâma† and Ali, he asked counsel of them. Osâma declared his utter disbelief of the slanderous reports. Ali with greater caution, recommended the examination of Ayesha's maid; and the maid when called could bear testimony to nothing but the general innocence of her mistress.‡

* The altercation is not noticed by Hishâmi;—but see *M. C. de Perceval*, iii. p. 168.

† Osâma was the son of the Prophet's nurse, Baraka (Omm Ayman), and Zeid. See vol. ii. p. 49.

‡ We must remember that all this is Ayesha's own account of the matter, and that there was a strong antipathy between her and Ali. Her statement must therefore be received with caution. It is as follows:—Ali replied to Mahomet: "O Prophet! there is no lack of women, and thou canst without difficulty supply her place. Ask this servant girl about her, perchance she may tell the truth." So Mahomet called Bureira; Ali arose and struck her severely, saying,—"Tell the truth unto the Prophet." "I know nothing," said she, "of Ayesha but what is good:—excepting this, indeed, that one day I was kneading corn, and I asked her to watch it, and she went asleep, and the goats came and ate thereof." *Hishâmi*, p. 316.

Ayesha is cleared by a revelation from heaven.

Mahomet then went to Ayesha herself. From the time when she had first learned the damaging nature of the reports about her character, she had abandoned herself to excessive grief. Her mother exhorted her to patience:—"Assuage thy sorrow, my daughter!" she said:—"It is seldom that a beautiful woman is married to a man who loves her, and who has other wives besides, but the latter multiply scandal against her, and men do so likewise." But she refused to be comforted, and continued to pine away. Now when Mahomet entered, he sat down beside her, with her father and mother; and he said, "Ayesha! thou knowest what men have spoken of thee. Fear God! If indeed thou hast been guilty of that which they accuse thee of, then repent towards God, for the Lord accepteth the repentance of his servants." Ayesha held her peace, expecting (as she tells us) that her parents would reply for her;—but they too were silent. At last she burst into a passionate flood of tears, and exclaimed,—"By the Lord! I say that I will never repent towards God of that which ye speak of. I am helpless. If I confess, God knoweth that I am guiltless. If I deny, no one believeth me. All I can say is that which Joseph's father said,—*Patience becometh me: God is my helper!*"* Then, as all sat silent, Mahomet appeared to fall into a prophetic trance. They covered him

* Ayesha says that the name of *Jacob* having entirely gone from her memory at the moment, she substituted the words, *Joseph's father*.

over, and placed a pillow under his head. Thus he lay seemingly unconscious.* In a little while he recovered himself, cast off the clothes, and sat up. Wiping away the great drops of sweat from his forehead, he exclaimed, "*Ayesha! rejoice! Verily the Lord hath revealed thine innocence.*"—"*Praise be to God!*" was all that Ayesha could reply.

Then Mahomet went forth to the people, and recited before them the commands which he had received in this matter from heaven. They are contained in the twenty-fourth Sura, which opens with the declaration of the punishment for harlotry, —one hundred stripes,† and proceeds thus:— Passages of the Coran revealed on the occasion.

"They that slander married women,‡ and thereafter do not bring forward four witnesses, scourge them with four score stripes: and ye shall never again receive their testimony; for they are infamous,—Unless they repent after that, and amend, for God is forgiving and merciful.§ * * * Verily they,—a party amongst

* Ayesha assures us that her mind was perfectly tranquil at this critical moment, confident that her innocence would be vindicated from heaven.

† This penalty is made by the Moslem divines to apply to fornication only, and not to adultery. For the latter no punishment is mentioned *in the Coran*, but the Sonna awards death by stoning, for it. See vol. i. Introduction, p. xxv. note.

‡ *Muhsinât:* the meaning of which term is fixed by v. 22.

§ Here intervenes the special ordinance prescribed for husbands who charge their wives with adultery. If they have no witnesses, the charge, sworn to four times, with a fifth oath imprecating the wrath of God upon the false swearer, is to be accepted in lieu of four witnesses. The wife may avert the punishment by similar oaths and a similar imprecation. No corresponding privilege is conceded to the wife who should accuses her husband of adultery. *Sura* xxiv, 6-9.

you,—that have fabricated lies, think it not to be an evil unto you.* To every man amongst them shall be (dealt out according to) the crime which he hath wrought; and he that hath been forward amongst them in aggravating the same, his punishment shall be great.

"Why, when they heard it, did not the believers, men and women, imagine in their minds that which is good, and say,—*This is a manifest lie?* Have they brought four witnesses thereof? Wherefore, since they have not produced the witnesses, they are liars, these men, in the sight of God.

"If it were not for the favour of God upon you, and his mercy in this world and in the next, verily for that which ye have spread abroad, a grievous punishment had overtaken you;—when ye published it with your tongues, and said with your mouths that of which ye had no knowledge: and ye counted it light, but with God it is weighty.

"Why, when ye heard it, did ye not say: '*It belongeth not to us that we should speak of this;—Gracious God! This is a monstrous calumny!*'

"God admonisheth you that ye return not again to the like thereof, for ever.

"And God manifesteth unto you his signs, for God is knowing and wise.

"Verily, they who love that infamy should be published regarding the believers: to them shall be a grievous torment in this world and in the next. And God knoweth, but ye do not know.

"And if it had not been for the grace of God upon you, and his mercy,—Verily, God is merciful and forgiving."†

The calumniators of Ayesha are scourged.

After some farther denunciations of the wrath and curse of God against the traducers of innocent females, Mahomet stopped short; and, in accordance with the Divine command, ordered the calumniators of Ayesha to receive the punishment ordained for

* *i.e.* to the Prophet and his family.

† *Sura* xxiv, vv. 4, 5, and 10-20.

them. Mistah and Hassân received each fourscore stripes; and even Hamna, the sister of the favourite Zeinab, failed to escape. But Mahomet did not venture to enforce the sentence against Abdallah. It was fortunate that he refrained from doing so, for a time of trial was approaching, when the alienation of this powerful citizen and his adherents might have proved fatal to his cause.

Satisfied with the infliction of these punishments, Mahomet, instead of keeping up the grudge, sought rather to conciliate the slanderers of Ayesha. Safwân (the hero of the misadventure), smarting under the satires of the poet Hassân, drew his sword upon him and inflicted a deep wound. Hassân and his comrades seized and bound Safwân, and carried him before Mahomet. The Prophet first rebuked Hassân for troubling the citizens with his lampoons; and then, having composed the difference, more than compensated the Poet for his wound and the disgrace of the stripes, by conferring on him a valuable estate and mansion in the vicinity of Medîna. He also commanded Abu Bakr not to withdraw from Mistah, his indigent relative, the support he had hitherto given him.*

Hassân is conciliated by the present of an estate.

Ayesha, again received back to the home and the heart of Mahomet, re-established herself, perhaps more firmly than before, in the paramount influence

Hassân writes an ode in praise of Ayesha, who is reconciled to him.

* This was not thought too small a matter for a special *Revelation*. See *Sura* xxiv, 23.

which she exercised there. Her praises were sung by Hassân himself,—her purity, her grace, her wit, and (what Ayesha piqued herself more than all upon,) her slender and elegant figure,—in glowing verse, which entirely reconciled her to the Poet.*

Guilt or innocence of Ayesha.

Little remark is needed regarding the character of Ayesha, and the pretended message from the Almighty to which it gave occasion. There are not materials sufficient for deciding upon the charges brought against her, and the question is immaterial. That there were grounds of grave suspicion, Mahomet by his behaviour towards Ayesha himself admitted. The reason subsequently assigned for her innocence and the punishment of the slanderers,—namely, the absence of four witnesses, is inconclusive. It might have been necessary that Mahomet should caution or even punish his followers for lightly or maliciously damaging a reputation hitherto untarnished; but to prohibit, on pain of stripes, all comment on suspicious morality, unless attested by four witnesses, is to cast a veil over conduct which the interests of society may often require to be canvassed and held up to reprobation.†

The law of slander established by Mahomet.

---

* When he came to the passage referring to her *slimness*, she archly interrupted him by a piece of raillery at his own corpulence. *M. C. de Perceval*, iii, p. 175.

† It is true that an exception is made in favour of the husband whose simple oath five times repeated may be substituted, so far as his own interests are concerned, for the four witnesses. But this would not touch the case of unmarried women, or widows, or

Mahomet, through the Coran cautions his wives against immodesty.

Although admitting so decisively the innocence of Ayesha, Mahomet did not deem the character of his wives above the necessity of a caution, enforced too by the threat of double punishment, if they erred. They were not as other women; far more than others they were bound to abstain from every word and action such as might encourage those "whose hearts were diseased." The passage, in which the jealousy of the Prophet thus betrays itself through the transparent veil of a *Revelation*, is too curious to be curtailed, even at the risk of the reader's patience.

"O Prophet, say unto thy Wives,—'*If ye seek after this present Life, and the Fashion thereof, come, I will make provision for you and dismiss you with a fair dismission.*'

"But if ye seek after God and his Apostle, and the Life to come, then verily God hath prepared for the excellent amongst you, a great Reward.

"O Women of the Prophet! If any amongst you should be guilty of open Vice,* the punishment shall be doubled unto her twofold;—and that were easy with God.

"But she that amongst you devoteth herself to God and his Apostle, and worketh righteousness, We shall give unto her her Reward twice told, and We have prepared for her a gracious maintenance.

"O ye Women of the Prophet! Ye are not like unto any one

---

where the husband might be blind or conniving; and yet the interests of public morals might justify society in taking cognizance of strongly suspected immorality even when not supported by four witnesses. The practical result of Mahomet's rule is that the Mahometan husband immures, or secludes his wife, or watches her at every turn; and with such a system is this to be wondered at?

* فاحشة مبينة ordinarily used of incontinence.

amongst (other) Women. If ye fear the Lord, be not bland in your speech, lest he indulge desire in whose heart is a disease. Yet speak the speech that is suitable.

"And abide within your Houses; and array not yourselves as ye used to do in the days of Ignorance gone by. And observe the times of Prayer; and give Alms; and obey God and his Apostle. Verily the Lord desireth only to purge away from you Impurity, ye that are (his) household, and to purify you wholly.

"And keep in memory that which is recited in your houses, of the Signs * of God, and Wisdom: for God pierceth that which is hidden,† and is acquainted with all things."

---

* Or Verses,—meaning passages of the Coran.

† Or "God is *Benign*": لطيف—This word is probably used with the meaning I have given it in the text, as intimating that any secret improprieties on the part of his Wives would not be hidden from God.

CHAPTER SEVENTEENTH.

Siege of Medîna, and Massacre of the Bani Coreitza.

Dzul Cada, A.H. V. *February, March*, A.D. 627.

More stirring scenes open upon Mahomet.

WHILE Mahomet thus occupied himself with the cares of his increasing harem, and, by messages addressed to them from heaven, enjoined upon his wives virtue and propriety of life, more weighty and stirring scenes suddenly opened out before him.

The Coreish, joined by an immense force of the Bedouin tribes, march against Medina.

The winter season was again come round at which it had now become customary with the Coreish to prepare for hostilities against Mahomet.* Their enmity was at this time farther stimulated by Huwey and other Jewish chiefs exiled from Medîna, who undertook the duty of rousing the Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood, bound by alliance or sympathy in the same cause. Among these allies were several clans of the great Ghatafân family, between whom and Mahomet there had already been some warlike passages. The Bani Ashja and Murra, each brought four hundred warriors; and the Bani Fezâra,

* Badr was fought in January, A.H. II., but that was brought on by Mahomet himself. Ohod occurred about the same season, A.H. III.; and the abortive preparations for the second Badr took place in the same month, A.H. IV.

a large force, with one thousand camels, under Uyeina;* the Bani Suleim, who had been concerned in the massacre at Maûna, joined the army at Marr al Tzahrân, with seven hundred men.† The Bani Sád and Bani Asád also swelled the force, the latter still smarting from the attack made on them by Mahomet about two years before.‡ The Coreish themselves brought four thousand soldiers, including three hundred horse, and one thousand five hundred riders upon camels, into the field. The entire force was estimated at ten thousand men. They marched in three separate camps; all were under the general leadership of Abu Sofiân, but when the time for action came, the several chiefs appear each for a day to have commanded in succession.

Mahomet defends Medîna by digging a trench.
Shawwal, A.H. V. February. A.D. 627.

Mahomet had notice of their approach barely in time to prepare for their reception. The unfortunate issue of the affair at Ohod, against numbers much inferior, put it out of the question to offer battle. A happy suggestion was made by Salmân, "the Persian," who was familiar with the mode in which camps and cities were defended in other countries.§

* See above, p. 226.

† For these tribes, see table, vol. i. p. ccxxiv.

‡ Namely, the expedition to Catan. The Bani Sád ibn Bakr were a branch of the Hawâzin. Mahomet had been nursed among them. Vol. i. p. 19.

§ He is said to have been a Christian captive of Mesopotamia, bought by a Jew from the Bani Kalb, and ransomed on his profession of Islam. This is the first occasion on which he comes to notice.

Mahomet and his followers, by his advice, at once adopted the stratagem hitherto unknown in Arabia, of entrenching the town. The stone houses of Medîna were built so compactly together that, for a considerable distance, they presented a high and nearly unbroken wall, of itself a sufficient protection. But it was necessary to connect this on the north-west by a line of defence with the rugged mass of rocks which there approach the town,* and to carry it round the other open and defenceless quarters on the east and south. The work, consisting of a deep ditch and rude earthen dyke, was portioned out amongst the various clans. Mahomet stimulated the enthusiasm of his followers by himself carrying the excavated earth, and joining in their song, as at the building of the Mosque:—

"O Lord! there is no happiness but that of Futurity;
Wherefore have mercy on the men of Medîna and the Refugees!"

He also frequently repeated the following verses, covered as he was, like the rest, with earth and dust:—

* The fortress or castle of Medîna is now built on this "outcropping mass of rock." *Burton*, ii. 29. Burckhardt calls it a small rocky elevation, p. 321. Speaking of the great Syrian chain, he also says:—"The last undulations of these mountains touch the town on the north side." This is apparently what, in tradition, is called *Silá*, though Burckhardt gives that name "Jebel Sila," to the *Monakh* (or encamping ground) lying immediately south of it. See p. 327. I gather that the part of modern Medîna immediately to the east of the fort was in ancient times open and unbuilt upon.

"Oh Lord! without thee, we had not been guided!
We should never have given alms, neither should we have prayed!
Send down upon us tranquillity, and in battle stablish our steps!
For they have risen up against us, and sought to pervert us.
but we refused!—Yea, WE REFUSED!"

And as he repeated the last two words, he raised his voice high and loud.

The army of Medina posted within the trench.

8th Dzul Cáda, A.H. V. 2nd March, A.D. 626.*

In six days, the trench was finished, deep and wide throughout almost the whole length of the defence. The houses outside the town were evacuated, and the women and children were placed for security on the tops of the double-storied houses within the entrenchment. These arrangements were hardly completed when the enemy was reported to be advancing by Ohod. The army of Medîna, three thousand strong, was immediately marshalled and posted across the road, leading to Ohod, having the trench in front, and their rear resting upon the north-eastern quarter of the city and the rising ground of Silá.† The northern face was the point most vulnerable to the enemy, the approaches from the east being covered by walls and palm enclosures.

The Coreish encamp opposite them,

The Coreish, with their allies, encamped at first upon their old ground at Jorf and al Ghâba, near Ohod. Then passing unopposed by the scene of their former

---

* Some authorities hold that the hostilities occurred in Shawwâl, I suppose to avoid the holy months. But Wâckidi and his secretary are consistent in their dates throughout, and I have followed them.

† For *Silá*, see note in preceding page.

victory, and finding the country deserted, they swept rapidly up the road to Medîna. The enemy formed their several camps in front of the Moslem army, the picquets of which were now posted closely along the trench. The Coreish were astonished and disconcerted at the new tactics of Mahomet. Unable to come to close quarters, they contented themselves for sometime with a distant discharge of archery.

and detach the Bani Coreitza from the side of Mahomet.

Meanwhile, Abu Sofiân succeeded in detaching the Jewish tribe of Coreitza from their allegiance to Mahomet. Huwey, the Jewish chief, was sent to their fortress, and was at first refused admittance. But, persevering in his solicitations, dwelling upon the ill-concealed enmity of Mahomet towards the Jews, and representing the overwhelming numbers of the confederate army as "a surging sea," he at last persuaded Káb, their chief, to relent. It was agreed that the Coreitza would assist the Coreish, and that Huwey should retire into their fortress, in case the allies marched back without inflicting a fatal blow upon Medîna. Rumours of this defection reaching Mahomet, he sent the Sád ibn Muâdz and Sád ibn Obâda, chief men of the Aws and Khazraj, to ascertain the truth of the report, and strictly charged them, if the result of their inquiry was unfavourable, to divulge it to none but to himself. They found the Coreitza in a sullen mood. "Who is Mahomet," said they, "and who is the Apostle of God, that we should obey him? There is no bond or compact betwixt us and him." After high words

and threats, the two messengers took their leave, and reported to Mahomet that the temper of the Jews was even worse than he had feared.*

---

* I have much hesitation in determining what the compact was, at this time existing between Mahomet and the Coreitza, and what part the Coreitza actually took in assisting the allies. The evidence is altogether *ex parte*, and is of course as adverse to the Coreitza as possible. *Canon*, I. H. v. i. p. lviii.

The Coran, our surest guide, says simply that they "assisted" the allies, ظاهروهم (*S.* xxxiii. 26); and the best traditions confine themselves to this general expression. Had there been any active hostilities entered upon, they would, I think, according to Mahomet's habit, have been more distinctly specified in the Coran.

On the other hand, a tradition from Ayesha states that, when the allies broke up, the Coreitza "returned" to their fort; and some traditions, though not of much weight, speak of them as part of the besieging force *before Medîna*.

There is also a weak tradition that Hodzeifa, sent as a spy to the enemy's camp, overheard Abu Sofiân telling his comrades the good news that the Coreitza had agreed to join him, *after ten days' preparation*, provided he sent seventy warriors to hold their fortress while they were absent in the field; and that Hodzeifa's report was the first intelligence Mahomet had of the defection.

On the whole, my impression is that the Coreitza entered into a league with Huwey, making common cause with him, and promising to take part in following up any success on the part of the Coreish,—a promise which they were in the best position to fulfil,—their fortress being, though at some distance, on the undefended side of Medîna. But, before any opportunity offered, they saw the likelihood of the siege failing, and then distrust and disunion broke out.

It is to be noticed that the compact existing betwixt them and Mahomet is admitted to have been a *slight* one ولث *K. Wâckidi*, 114½. Al Jowhari says that this term means a treaty entered into without forecast or design, or without confirmation, a slight one. "Fœdus vel pactum forte (غيرقصد) initum, vel haud firmum."

This news alarmed Mahomet. He justly apprehended that his previous treatment of the Jewish tribes might now drive the Coreitza to desperate measures. The south-eastern quarter of the city, which lay on their side, was the least capable of defence. The Jews had still many friends and adherents among the citizens. Disaffection lurked everywhere. Even amongst the professed followers of the Prophet, some began to talk already of deserting. To protect the families of his followers throughout the town, and to guard against surprise or treachery, Mahomet was obliged to detach from his force, already barely adequate to man the long trench, two parties, each composed of two or three hundred soldiers, which night and day patrolled the streets.* A strong guard was also kept over his own tent.

Danger to Medîna from this defection, and measures for its safety.

The enemy, notwithstanding their numbers, were paralyzed by the vigilance of the Moslem outposts. They professed to regard the trench as an unworthy subterfuge: "Truly," they said in their chagrin, "this is a foreign artifice, to which no Arabs have ever yet descended." But, it was nevertheless the safety of Medîna. The confederate army resolved if possible to storm it, and having discovered a certain narrow and weakly-guarded part, a general attack was made upon it. The cavalry spurred their horses for-

A party of the enemy's horse clear the ditch, but are driven back by Ali.

* One party of three hundred was under Zeid, Mahomet's freedman: and another of two hundred under a Medîna chief. *K. Wâckidi*, 112.

ward, and a few of them, led by Ikrima, son of Abu Jahl, cleared the ditch, and galloped vauntingly in front of their enemy. No sooner was this perceived than Ali with a body of picked men moved out against them. These, by a rapid manœuvre, gained the rear of Ikrima, and occupying the narrow point which he had crossed, cut off his retreat. At this moment Amr, son of Abd Wudd, an aged chief * in the train of Ikrima, challenged his adversaries to single combat. Ali forthwith accepted the challenge, and the two stood alone in the open plain. Amr, dismounting, maimed his horse, in token of his resolve to conquer or to die. They closed, and for a short time were hidden in a cloud of dust. But it was not long before the well-known *Takbîr*, "Great is the Lord!" from the lips of Ali, made known that he was the victor. The rest, taking advantage of the diversion, again spurred their horses, and all gained the opposite side of the ditch, excepting Nowfal, who failing in the leap, was despatched by Zobeir.

General attack on the following day upon the line of defence—unsuccessful.

Nothing farther was attempted that day. But great preparations were made during the night; and next morning, Mahomet found the whole force of the allies drawn out against him. It required the utmost activity and an unceasing vigilance on his side to frustrate the manœuvres of the enemy, who sought, by massing their troops on the least protected

* Said to have been ninety years of age.

points, and by a sustained and galling discharge of arrows, to gain the opposite side of the trench. This continued throughout the day; and as the army of Mahomet was but just sufficient to guard the long line, there could be no relief. Even at night Khâlid, with a strong party of horse, kept up the alarm, and still threatening the line of defence, rendered outposts at frequent intervals necessary. But all their endeavours were without effect. The trench was not crossed; and during the whole operations Mahomet lost only five men.* Sád ibn Muadz, a chief of the Bani Aws, was wounded severely by an arrow in the shoulder. The archer, as he shot it, cried aloud:—"There, take that from the son of Arca." Mahomet, with a savage play upon the name, exclaimed,—"The Lord cause thy face to sweat† in hell fire!" The confederates had but three men killed.

Prayers repeated in the evening, for those missed during the day.

No prayers had been said that day: the duty at the trench was too heavy and incessant. When it was dark, therefore, and the greater part of the enemy had retired to their camp, the Moslem troops were assembled; and a separate service was repeated for each prayer which had been omitted. Mahomet on this occasion is said to have cursed the allied army, and said,—"They have kept us from our daily prayers: God fill with fire their bellies and their graves!"‡

* One of these was killed by Wahshî with his African javelin.

† *Arrac*, in reference to the name of the archer *Arca*.

‡ *K. Wâckidi*, 112½; *Hishâmi*, 292. The words are confirmed by several independent traditions; see especially the Secretary's

Secret negotiation to buy off the Ghatafân, abandoned.

Though the loss of life had been trifling, yet the army of Medîna was harassed and wearied with the unceasing watch and duty. They were moreover dispirited by finding themselves hemmed in, and by seeing no prospect of the siege being raised. Mahomet himself was in constant alarm lest the trench should be forced, and lest his rear should be threatened by the Jews or other disaffected citizens. Many of his followers, whose habitations and possessions lay at a distance, afraid or pretending to fear that they would be plundered, begged leave to go and protect them. Mahomet appeared now in the eyes of his people to be weak and helpless. "Where," it was asked, "were the Prophet's hopes, and all his promises of Divine assistance?" It was indeed a day of grievous trial. In the vivid language of the Coran:—"*The enemy came upon them from above and from beneath; and the Sight became confused; and Hearts reached to the throat; and the people imagined concerning God strange Imaginations.*" In this state of alarm, when the siege had now lasted eleven or twelve days,*

collection of traditions on the point, p. 113. There is a tradition that Safia, Mahomet's aunt, from the top of her house, espied a Jew prowling about. She asked Hassân the Poet, who was present, to go down and kill him, as he would be likely to go back and tell his people of their defenceless state. Hassân declined; and so Safia herself went down and slew him. *Hishâmi*, 292. The story may be true, but the same tale is told of Safia during the action at Ohod. *Wâckidi*, p. 282.

* The words may mean any number above ten and below twenty. What I have stated seems, from other considerations, the likeliest.

Mahomet bethought him of a stratagem for buying off the least hostile portion of his foe. He sent secretly to Uyeina, chief of the Fezâra,* and sounded him as to whether he would engage to withdraw the Ghatafân tribes, and thus break up the confederate army, on condition of receiving one third of the produce of the date-trees of Medîna. Uyeina signified his readiness, if one half were guaranteed to him. But Mahomet had over-estimated his own authority. On sending for the two Sáds, as representatives of the Aws and Khazraj, they spurned the compromise. But, still maintaining their subordination to the Prophet, they added,—"If thou hast received a command from God, then do thou act according to the same." "Nay," said Mahomet, "if I had received a command, I would not have consulted you; I ask only your advice as to that which is most expedient." "Then our counsel is," they replied, "to give nothing unto them but the Sword." And so the project dropped.†

Mutual distrust excited by an emissary from Mahomet, between the Jews and the Coreish.

Another and more artful device was now tried. There was a man of the allied army, who possessed the ear of both sides,—the same Nueim who had been employed in the previous year to prevent Mahomet

* Hishâmi joins with Uyeina, in this negotiation, Hârith, leader of the Bani Murra.

† Hishâmi asserts that the negotiation had gone the length of being drawn up in writing, though not attested: and that the two Sáds effaced the record, and said: "Now let them do their utmost against us!" p. 291.

from advancing on Badr, by exaggerated accounts of the preparations at Mecca. He is now represented as an exemplary believer,* but secretly, for fear of his tribe the Bani Ashjá. This man offered his services to the Prophet and they were gladly accepted. "See now," said Mahomet to him, "whether thou canst not break up this confederacy against us: for War verily is a game of deception." Nueim went first to the Bani Coreitza, and representing himself as a true friend, artfully insinuated that the interests of the Allies were diverse from theirs, and that before they compromised themselves irretrievably with Mahomet, by joining in the impending general attack on Medîna, they ought to demand from the Coreish hostages, as a guarantee against being deserted and left in their enemy's power.† They suspected no harm, and agreed to act on his advice. Going next to the allied chiefs, he cautioned them against the Jews:—"I have heard," he said, "that the Bani Coreitza intend to ask for hostages; beware how ye give them, for they have already repented of their compact with you, and promised Mahomet to give up the hostages to be slain, and then to join in the battle against you." The insidious

---

* حسن اسلامه *K. Wâckidi*, 112½.

† The tenor of Nueim's advice, as given uniformly by tradition, is opposed to the supposition that the Coreitza had as yet joined in active hostilities against Mahomet, or committed any such overt act as would have prevented them rejoining his cause.

plot immediately took effect; for when the Coreish sent to demand of the Coreitza the fulfilment of their engagement to join in a general attack on the following day, they pleaded their Sabbath as a pretext against fighting, and their fear of being deserted as a ground for demanding hostages. The Allies regarded this as a confirmation of Nueim's intelligence, and were so fully persuaded of the treachery of the Coreitza that they began even to fear an attack from that quarter.

A tempest: Abu Sofiân orders the allied force to break up.

The confederate chiefs were already disheartened. After the two days of vigorous but unsuccessful fighting described above, they had not again attempted any general assault. Perhaps the system by which the chiefs commanded each on successive days had paralyzed their energies.* The hope entertained from another engagement, during which the Coreitza were to have fallen upon the city in the rear of Mahomet, was now changed into the fear of hostilities from the treacherous Coreitza themselves. Their provisions were running short; and their camels and horses were dying daily in numbers. "Wearied and damped in spirit, the night set in upon them cold and tempestuous. Wind and rain beat mercilessly on the unprotected camp.† The

* *K. Wâckidi*, 112.

† Such sudden and violent storms of wind and rain, lasting for one or two days, are common in the winter at Medîna. *Burckhardt*, p. 398. See also quotations above, p. 15, on the climate of Medîna.

storm rose to a hurricane. Fires were extinguished; tents were blown down; cooking vessels and other equipage overthrown. Cold and comfortless, Abu Sofiân suddenly resolved on an immediate march. Hastily summoning the chiefs, he made known his decision:—"Break up the camp," he said, "and march;—as for me, I am gone." With these words he leaped on his camel (so great was his impatience) while its fore leg was yet untied, and led the way.* Khâlid with two hundred horse brought up the rear, as a guard against pursuit. The Coreish took the road by Ohod for Mecca, and the Bani Ghatafân retired to their haunts in the Desert.

The enemy retires:

The grateful intelligence soon reached Mahomet, who had sent Hodzeifa in the dark, to spy out the enemy's movements. In the morning not one of them was left in sight. The Prophet was not slow in attributing this happy issue to the divine interposition. It was an answer, he said, to the earnest prayer which he had for some days been offering up, in these words:—"*O Lord! Revealer of the Sacred Book, who art swift in taking account! turn to flight the confederate Host! Turn them to flight, O Lord, and make them to quake!*†" It was God

which Mahomet attributes to Divine interposition, in answer to his prayers.

* It is possible that Abu Sofiân feared lest the rain should fill the valleys, especially Al Ghâba, which he had to pass, and embarrass his army in case of pursuit; and that this added to the precipitation of his march.

† *K. Wâckidi*, 113½. This prayer was repeated for *three* days, and it was answered on the fourth.

who, hearing these petitions, sent the tempestuous wind; and the armies of heaven fought likewise, striking terror into the enemy.*

The army of Medîna, thus unexpectedly relieved, joyfully broke up their camp, in which they had been besieged now for fifteen days,† and returned to their homes. Mahomet had no thoughts of a pursuit,—it would have been affording the Coreish that which they perhaps still desired,—an action in the open country; but he had thoughts of a surer and more important blow nearer home.

The Moslem army breaks up.

He had just begun to cleanse himself from the dust of the campaign, when suddenly he pretended that Gabriel had brought him a command to proceed immediately against the Bani Coreitza. "What!" said

But is immediately formed again, to chastise the Bani Coreitza.

---

* *Sura*, XXXIII. 9. Striking *terror* was all they could have done, as the Allies had but three men killed during the whole siege.

† The secretary's chronology is clear enough, pp. 112 and 112½. Mahomet went forth to oppose the Coreish on Monday, 8th Dzul Cáda (2nd March). He broke up his camp and returned home on Wednesday, seven days from the close of Dzul Cáda, *i.e.* on the 22nd or 23rd (16th or 17th March). The same day he marched against the Coreitza, and returned home finally on Thursday, 7th Dzul Hijj (31st March), after a siege of fourteen or fifteen days. Others make the siege of Medîna to have lasted *three weeks*, and that of the Coreitza twenty-five days.

The only patent discrepancy of the secretary is as to the day of the week on which the Coreish retired. The Coreitza objected to join in the last grand attack on the following day, because it was their Sabbath; and the tenor of the narrative is that the camp was broken up *that night*. But as I have said before, the evidence of the treachery of the Jews is open to suspicion; and the desire to incriminate them more deeply may have led tradition into inconsistencies.

the heavenly visitant, in the language of reproach, "hast thou laid asside thine armour, while as yet the angels have not laid theirs aside! Arise and go forth against the Coreitza. Behold I go before thee, to shake the foundations of their walls."* Instantly Balâl was sent to make proclamation throughout the town. An immediate march was ordered; all were to be present at the evening prayer in the camp, before the fortress of the Coreitza, which lay two or three miles to the south-east of Medîna. The standard raised to oppose the Coreish stood yet unfurled in the Mosque: it was now placed in the hands of Ali. Mahomet mounted his ass, and the army (as before, three thousand strong, with thirty-six horse,) followed after him The fortress of the Coreitza was at once invested, and a discharge of archery kept up steadily, but without any effect. One man approaching incautiously near, was killed by a Jewess, who

Siege of the Bani Coreitza: Dzul Cáda and Dzul Hijj. A.H. V. March, A.D. 626.

* Tradition abounds with stories of Gabriel on this occasion. He was seen to go before the Mussulman army in the appearance of Dihya the Kalbite:—"Now Dihya resembled Gabriel in his beard and face." Again, Mahomet desired to postpone the campaign a few days, as his people were fatigued, but Gabriel would not admit of a moment's delay, and galloped off with his troop of angels, raising a great dust. *K. Wâckidi*, 114½. Gabriel's dress is particularized: he rode on a mule with a silken saddle, a silken turban, &c. *K. Wâckidi*, 113½, 263; *Hishâmi*, 296. Mahomet was washing his face after his return from the campaign of the Ditch, when Gabriel appeared; he had washed the right cheek and was beginning to wash the other when he received the order to march to the siege of the Coreitza; and leaving thus his face half washed, obeyed at once!

cast down a mill-stone on him. But the improvident Jews, whom the fate of their brethren should have taught to better purpose, had not calculated on the chances and the necessities of a siege; they were soon reduced to great distress and sought to capitulate. But Mahomet, having no longer any other Jewish neighbours to alarm or alienate by his severity, was bent on a bloody revenge, and refused to listen. In their extremity, the Coreitza appealed to their ancient friendship with the Bani Aws, and the services rendered to them in bygone days.* They begged that Abu Lubâba, of that tribe, might be allowed to visit and counsel them. He came, and overcome by the wailing of the children and the cries of the women, he had no heart to speak, but symbolically drawing his hand across his throat, intimated that they must fight to the last, as death was all they had to hope for. On retiring, he felt that he had been too plain and honest in his advice; for "war," as the Prophet had said, "is a game of deception." Therefore he went to Mahomet, and confessing his guilt, said, "I repent: for verily I have dealt treacherously with the Lord, and with his Prophet." Mahomet vouchsafed no reply; and Abu Lubâba, more strongly to mark his contrition, went straightway to the Mosque and bound himself to one of its posts. In this position he remained for several days, till at last Mahomet relented, and sent to pardon and release him. The

Abu Lubâba visits them.

* As at the battle of Boâth, vol. i. p. ccxxxiii.

"pillar of repentance" is still pointed out in the Mosque to the pious pilgrim.*

They surrender at the discretion of the Bani Aws.

At last the wretched Jews, brought now to the last verge of starvation, offered to surrender, if their fate were decided by their allies, the Bani Aws. To this Mahomet agreed; and, after a siege of fourteen days, according to others of twenty five,† the whole tribe, men, women and children, came forth from their stronghold. The men were hand-cuffed behind their backs, and placed upon one side, under charge of Mohammad son of Maslama, the assassin of Káb; the women and children, torn from their fathers and husbands, were put under the care of Abdallah, a renegade Jew. As the women passed before the conqueror, his eye marked the lovely features of Rîhâna, and he destined her to be his own.‡ The

* It is also called the "pillar of Abu Lubâba." *Burton*, ii. p. 103. Hishâmi says that Abu Lubâba did not go to Mahomet, but went straight to the Mosque. *Sura*, viii. 26, is said to have been revealed as signifying the displeasure of God at Abu Lubâba's conduct. "*O Believers! deceive not God and his Apostle, nor violate your faith*," *&c.* If this be so, it of course makes the case as against Mahomet (in punishing the honest speaking of Lubâba,) a great deal worse. But I doubt this being the occasion of the passage. Hishâmi farther makes *Sura*, ix. 104, the warrant of God's pardon to him, but this refers altogether to another matter.

Hishâmi says that Abu Lubâba remained bound at the pillar *six days*, and that on the divine revelation of forgiveness, Ómm Salma obtained leave to announce it to him.

† See note above, p. 269. The Secretary gives both terms, pp. 114, and 263½.

‡ Tradition does not say where Mahomet saw her first. He may possibly have heard of her before; or her beauty may now

household stuff of the captives, their clothes and armour,* their camels and flocks, were all brought forth to await the award of the arbiter. The wine and fermented liquors were poured forth, the use of such being now forbidden to the believer.

Sád ibn Muâdz appointed arbiter of their fate.

The Bani Aws were importunate that their ancient allies should be spared. "These were *our* confederates," they urged. "We pray thee that the same consideration may be shown to them, as aforetime, at the suit of the Bani Khazraj, thou didst show to their allies."† "Are ye content, then," replied Mahomet, "that their fate be committed to one of yourselves?" They expressed their satisfaction, and Mahomet forthwith nominated Sád ibn Muâdz to be their judge.‡

have been reported to him by some sycophant. It is to be noted that Mahomet appropriated her *before* the division of the spoil, under his personal privilege (previously described), and consequently the first sight of her is as likely to have been in the manner stated in the text, as in any other, if not more so. But I think it right to distinguish always between my own conjecture and the statement of tradition.

* There were fifteen hundred swords, one thousand lances, five hundred shields, and three hundred coats of mail.

† Alluding to the Bani Nadhîr, who were allowed to emigrate, with all the property they could carry away.

‡ There are great varieties in the narrative. I have chosen the most consistent and probable statement. Some say that the Coreitza offered to surrender and abide by the decision of Sád, naming him themselves,—which, however, is most unlikely, as this chief had, when deputed to them on a late occasion, parted from them with the most hostile threats. *Vide* p. 259. Others say that they surrendered at the sole discretion of Mahomet, who, being importuned by the Bani Aws, made over the decision to Sád. But after

The bloody judgment of Sád.

Sád still suffered from the severe wound received at the trench. From the field of battle he had been carried to a tent pitched by Mahomet in the court-yard of the Mosque, where the wounded men were waited on by Rufeida, an experienced nurse. His wound had begun apparently to heal. But the sense of the injury still rankled in his heart: and Mahomet knew well the bitter hate into which his former friendship had been turned by the treachery of the Coreitza.* He was now summoned. His figure was large and corpulent. Having been mounted with some difficulty on a well-padded ass, he was conducted to the camp. The men of his tribe who thronged about him by the way continually reminded him of the friendship and services of the Coreitza, and urged him as their own representative to deal gently with the prisoners. He answered not a word till he approached the scene: and then he said,—"Verily, this grace is given to Sád, that he careth not, in the affairs of God, for any blame the Blamers may cast upon him." As he drew near, Mahomet called aloud to those around him,—"Stand up to meet your master, and assist him to alight."† Then he commanded that Sád should

Abu Lubâba's intimation of Mahomet's thirst for their blood, this also is unlikely. *K. Wâckidi*, 113½, 263½, *et seq.* *Hishâmi*, 299.

* It is said that on his being wounded, Sád cursed the Coreitza and prayed,—"O Lord! suffer me not to die until my heart hath had its revenge against them."

† The refugees held with much pertinacity that this order was only addressed to the citizens of Medîna, as Sád was their chief.

pronounce his judgment on the Coreitza. It was a scene well worthy the pencil of a painter. In the back ground, the army of Medîna watch with deep interest this show of justice, regarding with eager eye the booty,—the household stuff, the armour, the camels, the flocks, and the deserted town, as about, by the expected decree of confiscation, to become their own. On the right, with hands pinioned behind their backs, are the captive men, seven or eight hundred in number, dejection or despair at the ominous rigour of their treatment stamped on their faces. On the left, are the women and the little children, pale with terror, or frantic with grief and alarm for themselves and for the fate of their husbands and fathers, from whom they have been just now so rudely dragged. In front is Mahomet, with his chief companions by his side, and a crowd of followers thronging behind. Before him stands Sád, supported by his friends, weak and jaded with the journey, yet distinguished above all around by his portly and commanding figure. "Proceed with thy judgment!" repeated the Prophet. Sád turned himself to his people, who were still urging mercy upon him, and said,—"Will ye, then, bind yourselves by the covenant of God that whatsoever I shall decide, ye will accept the same?" There was a general murmur of assent. Then he proceeded:—"*This*

The citizens, on the contrary, regarded the words as addressed to all then present, including the refugees, and as significant of the honourable and commanding post of judge, assigned to Sád.

verily is my judgment, that the male captives shall be put to death, that the female captives and the children shall be sold into slavery, and the spoil be divided amongst the army." Many a heart quailed, besides the hearts of the wretched prisoners, at this savage and bloody decree. But all questionings were forthwith stopped by Mahomet, who adopted the verdict as his own, nay, declared it to be the solemn judgment of the Almighty;—cold and unmoved, he said,—"*Truly thou hast decided according to the judgment of God pronounced on high from beyond the seven heavens.*"

The butchery of the Bani Coreitza.

No sooner was the sentence passed and ratified than the camp broke up, and the people wended their way back to Medîna. The captives were dragged roughly along; one alone was treated with tenderness and care,—it was Rîhâna the beautiful Jewess, set apart for Mahomet. The men were penned up in a closed yard, while graves or trenches were being dug for them in the chief market-place of the city. When these were ready, Mahomet, himself a spectator of the tragedy, gave command that the captives should be brought forth in companies of five or six at a time.* Each company

* M. C. de Perceval gives these numbers. My authorities only say رسلا i.e. *in companies.* Hishâmi adds that one man, Rifâa, was spared at the request of Salma, Mahomet's aunt, "as she trusted he would yet join in the prayers and eat camel's flesh." p. 303. Another man is said during the siege to have been permitted to pass the Moslem picquets, as he had not concurred in the treacherous counsel of the Coreitza. He spent the night in

was made to sit down by the brink of the trench destined for its grave, and there beheaded. Party by party they were thus led out, and butchered in cold blood, till the whole were slain.* One woman alone was put to death; it was she who threw the millstone from the battlements.† For Zoheir, an aged Jew, who had saved some of his allies of the Bani Aws in the battle of Boâth, Thâbit interceded and procured a pardon, including the restoration of his family and his property. "But what hath become of all our chiefs,—of Káb, of Huwey, of Ozzâl the son of Samuel?" asked the old man. As one after another he named the leading chiefs of his tribe, he received to each inquiry the same reply;—they had all been slain already.—"Then of what use is life to me any longer? Slay me also, that I may go and join those that have preceded me." When this was told to Mahomet, he said, —"*Yea, he shall join them, in the fire of Hell?*"

---

the Prophet's Mosque: he left in the morning, and nothing was ever heard of him afterwards.

* In one tradition it is said that as the messenger went to bring up each successive party, the miserable prisoners, not conceiving a wholesale butchery possible, asked what was about to be done with them. "What! will ye never understand?" said the hard-hearted keeper: "will ye alway remain blind? See ye not that each company goeth and returneth not hither again? What is this but death?" *Hishâmi*, 301.

† Ayesha relates that this woman, whose heart perhaps was sustained by faith in the God of her fathers, went smiling and fearlessly to her fate. Ayesha says that she could never get the image of this woman out of her mind. *Hishâmi*, 301.

Mahomet takes Rihâna, a captive girl, for his concubine.

Having sated his revenge, and drenched the market-place with the blood of eight hundred victims,* and having given command for the earth to be smoothed over their remains, Mahomet returned from the horrid spectacle to solace himself with the charms of Rîhâna, whose husband and all whose male relatives had just perished in the massacre. He invited her to be his wife, but she declined; and chose to remain (as indeed, having refused marriage, she had no alternative) his slave or concubine.† She also declined the summons to conversion, and continued in the Jewish faith, at which the Prophet was much concerned. It is said, however, that she afterwards embraced Islam. She lived with Mahomet till his death.

The women and children sold as slaves

A fifth of the booty was, as usual, reserved for the Prophet, and the rest divided. From the fifth

* The numbers are variously given as six hundred, seven hundred, eight hundred, and even nine hundred. If the number of the arms enumerated among the spoil in a former note be correct, nine hundred would seem to be a moderate calculation for the adult males: but I have taken eight hundred as the number more commonly given.

† She is represented as saying, when he offered her marriage and the same privileges as his other wives:—"Nay, O Prophet! But let me remain as thy slave; this will be easier both for me and for thee." By this is probably meant that she would have felt the strict seclusion as a married wife irksome to her. *Hishâmi*, 303. That she refused to abandon the faith of her fathers shews a more than usual independence of mind, and there may have been scenes of sorrow in her poor widowed heart, and aversion from her licentious conqueror, which tradition is too one-sided to hand down, or which indeed tradition may never have known.

Mahomet made certain presents to his friends, of female slaves and servants ;* and then sent the rest of the women and children to be sold among the Bedouin tribes of Najd, in exchange for horses and arms; for he kept steadily in view the advantage of raising around him a body of efficient horse.† in Najd, in exchange for horses.

The siege of Medîna, and the massacre of the Bani Coreitza, are noticed, and the Disaffected bitterly reproached for their cowardice, during the siege of Medîna, in a passage of the Coran revealed shortly after, and recited by Mahomet, as was customary, from the pulpit: Notice of these events in the Coran.

"O ye that believe! Call to mind the favour of God upon you, when Hosts came against you, and WE sent against them a Tempest and Hosts which ye saw not; and God beholdeth that which ye do. Sura xxxiii.

"When they came at you from above you, and from beneath you, and when the Sight was confused, and the Hearts reached to the throat, and ye imagined of God (strange) Imaginations. There were the Faithful tried and made to tremble violently.

"And when the Disaffected said, and they in whose hearts is a Disease ‡ said, *God and his Prophet have promised only a Delusion:*

"And when a Party amongst them said:—*O men of Yathreb, there is no security* § *for you, wherefore retire;* and a part of them asked leave of the Prophet to depart, saying, *Our Houses are without protection;* and they were not without protection, but they desired only to escape:

"And if an entrance had been effected amongst them (by the enemy) from some adjacent quarter, and they had been invited to

---

* *K. Wâckidi*, 114. † *Hishâmi*, 303.

‡ *i. e.* Cowardice (though ordinarily used for incontinent desire).

§ *lit.* Standing-place.

desist, they had surely consented thereto; then they had not remained in the same, but for a little.

"And verily they had heretofore covenanted with God, that they would not turn their backs; and the covenant of God will surely be inquired after.

"Say,—Flight will not profit you, were ye to flee from death or slaughter; and if ye did, ye would enjoy this life but for a little.

"Say,—Who is he that shall defend you from God, if he intend Evil for you, or if he intend Mercy for you; and they shall not find for themselves besides God any patron, or any helper.

"Verily God knoweth those amongst you that turn (others) aside, and those that say to their brethren,—*Come hither to us;* and they go not to the battle excepting for a little.

"Covetous are they towards you. But when Fear cometh, thou mayest see them looking towards thee, their eyes rolling about, like unto him that is overshadowed with death. Then, when the fear hath gone, they attack thee with sharp tongues, being covetous of the best part (of the booty). These do not believe; wherefore God hath made their works of no avail; and with God that is easy.

"They thought that the Confederates would not depart. And if the Confederates should come (again), they would wish themselves were amongst the Arabs of the desert, asking tidings of you. And if they were amongst you, they would not fight, excepting a little.

"Verily, ye have in the Apostle of God an excellent example, to him that hopeth in the Lord and in the last Day, and remembereth God frequently.

"And when the Believers saw the Confederates, they said,—*This is what God and his Apostle promised us, and God and his Apostle have spoken the Truth.* And it only increased their faith and submission.

"Of those that believe, some men have fulfilled that which they covenanted with God; and some of them have finished their course; and some of them are waiting; and they have not changed their covenant in anywise.

"That God may reward those that fulfil (their covenant) on

account of their Fidelity; and may chastise the Disaffected, if he pleaseth, or may be turned unto them. Verily God is Forgiving and Merciful.

"And God drave back the Infidels in their wrath. They obtained no advantage. And God sufficeth for the Believers in battle. God is strong and mighty.

"And he hath caused to descend from their strongholds the Jews* who assisted them; and he struck terror into their hearts. A part ye slaughtered, and ye made captive a part. And he hath made you inherit their land, and their habitations, and their wealth, and a land which ye had not trodden upon†; and God is over all things Powerful.‡

In reviewing these transactions, it is evident that the position of Mahomet had, at their close, become greatly improved in strength and influence. The whole weight of the Coreish and of the Ghatafânide tribes, with all their mighty preparations, had been successfully repelled, and that with hardly any loss. The entire defence of Medîna, by tacit consent, had been conducted by Mahomet; notwithstanding the ill-concealed disaffection of some of the inhabitants, he was now the acknowledged Chief, as well as Prophet, of the city. His negotiation with Uyeina was no doubt a proof of his weakness at the moment, and of distrust in his own cause; but, fortunately for

These events greatly improved the position of Mahomet.

* *lit.* Those of the people of the Book.

† Commentators refer this prophetically to the conquest of Persia, Greece, Kheibar,—all or any lands, in fact, subsequently conquered by the Moslems. But it seems to me to refer to certain possessions of the Coreitza, perhaps at some distance from their fortress.

‡ *Sura*, xxxiii. 9–26.

him, it was hardly entered upon when, by the firmness of the two Sáds, it was broken off; and the episode was lost sight of afterwards in the signal success of the defence. We cannot, indeed, approve the employment of Nueim to break up the confederacy by falsehood and deception, but this perhaps would hardly affect his character in Arab estimation.

Effect of the massacre of the B. Coreitza.

The sanguinary fate of the Coreitza removed the last remnant of open opposition, political or religious, from the neighbourhood of Medina; and, though it did not at the time escape criticism,* yet it struck so great a terror into the hearts of all, and the authority of the Prophet was already invested with so mysterious and supernatural a sanction, that no one dared openly to impugn it: and. moreover, the links which bound this ill-fated tribe to the citizens of Medina had begun to grow obsolete and feeble.

Its moral bearing on the character of Mahomet.

That the massacre was savage and cruel, to a barbarous and inhuman degree, it does not require any comment to prove. The ostensible grounds upon which Mahomet proceeded were purely political, for as yet he did not profess to *force* men to join Islam, or to punish them for not embracing it. † It may be admitted that a sufficient *casus belli* had arisen. The compact with the Coreitza was indeed

---

* See below (p. 286) the remarks of the Disaffected, on the lightness of Sád's corpse.

† He still continued to reiterate in his Revelations the axiom used at Mecca, "I am only a public Preacher;" as will be shewn in the next chapter.

weak and precarious.* Mahomet's policy towards the Jews, from a very early period after his arrival at Medîna, had been harsh and oppressive; he had attacked and expatriated two whole tribes on very doubtful grounds; he had caused the assassination of several Jews in so perfidious a manner, as to create universal distrust and alarm; after the murder of Káb and the incautious permission then given to slaughter the Jews indiscriminately, he himself felt that the existing treaty had been practically set aside, and, to restore confidence, he had entered into a new compact.† All these circumstances must plead against the strength of obligation which bound the Coreitza to his cause. They, moreover, had stood by the second compact at a time when they might fairly have set it aside, and joined the Bani Nadhîr. That they now hearkened to the overtures of the Coreish, though a proof of want of prudence and foresight, was no more than Mahomet might have expected, as the result of his own hostile and treacherous conduct. Still the Coreitza had joined his enemies at a critical period, and he had now a good cause for warring against them. He had, furthermore, fair grounds of political necessity for requiring them perhaps even to quit altogether a vicinity where they must have continued to form a dangerous nucleus of disaffection, and possibly of renewed attack upon Medîna. We

* See note above, p. 260.

† See above, p. 150.

might even concede that the conduct of their leaders amounted to treason against the city, and warranted a severe retribution. But the indiscriminate slaughter of eight hundred men, and the subjugation of the women and children of the whole tribe to slavery, can be recognized by no civilized people otherwise than as an act of enormous ferocity. The plea of Divine ratification or command may allay the scruples of the credulous Moslem; but it will be summarily rejected by others, who call to mind that the same authority was now habitually produced for personal ends, and for the justification even of unhallowed actions. However much Mahomet may have deluded himself into the vain belief that he had the Divine sanction for that which he did, a candid and severe examination of his heart must have shown him that these so-called revelations were but the counterpart of his own will, that they followed the course of his own longings and desires, and that he was himself responsible for their shape and colour. The butchery of the Coreitza leaves a dark stain of infamy upon the character of Mahomet.

Death-bed of Sâd ibn Muâdz,

Before closing this chapter, I will follow to its end the career of Sâd ibn Muâdz. After delivering himself of the bloody decree, he was conducted back upon his ass to Rufeida's tent. But the excitement was fatal to him; the wound burst forth anew. Mahomet hastened to the side of his bed: embracing him, he placed the dying man's head upon his knee and prayed thus:—"*O Lord! Verily Sâd hath laboured*

in thy service. He hath believed in thy Prophet, and hath fulfilled his covenant. Wherefore do Thou, O Lord, receive his Spirit with the best reception wherewith Thou receivest a departing soul!" Sád heard the words, and in faltering accents whispered,—"Peace be on thee, O Apostle of God!—Verily I testify that thou art the Prophet of the Lord." When he had breathed his last, they carried home the corpse.* After the forenoon prayer, Mahomet proceeded to join the burial; he reached the house as they were washing the body. The mother of Sád, weeping loudly, gave vent to her grief in appropriate Arab verse. They chided her for reciting poetry on such an occasion; but Maho-

* Accounts greatly vary, as usual. Some make Sád to have been taken by his tribe from the tent to his home, where he became very ill, and died. Others say that the wound broke out in the tent, into which Mahomet hurried, and clasping the dying man was covered with his blood. Others again hold that Gabriel appeared at midnight, and announced the death of Sád to Mahomet, who hastened to his bedside and found that he had just died.

The tale of Sád is surrounded with supernatural associations. For instance, when Mahomet went to be present at the washing of the body, he walked so rapidly that the people could scarcely keep up with him:—"You would have thought the thongs of their sandals would have broken, and their mantles fallen from their shoulders, they hurried so fast." When they asked the reason, he replied: "Verily, I fear lest the Angels should reach his house before us, as they got before us unto Hantzala;"—alluding to the burial of the latter, and the supposed washing of his corpse by the angels. Then there are numerous legends about the angels crowding into the room where the corpse was laid out, and one of them spreading out his wing for Mahomet to sit upon. *K. Wâckidi*, 264. See *Introd.* vol. i. p. lxv.

met interposed, saying: "Leave her alone; all other poets lie but she." The bier was then carried forth, Mahomet helping to bear it for the first thirty or forty yards. Notwithstanding that Sád was so large and corpulent a man, the bier was reported to be marvellously light. The Disaffected said: "We have never heard of a corpse lighter in the bier than that of Sád: know ye why this is? It is because of his judgment against the Bani Coreitza."* Mahomet hearing the rash remark, turned aside its point by a mysterious explanation, which was eagerly caught up by his followers:—"The angels are carrying the bier, therefore it is light in your hands. Verily the Throne on high doth vibrate on account of Sád, and the portals of heaven are opened, and he is attended by seventy thousand angels that never trod the earth before."

and his burial.

I believe all these traditions to hang upon the reply of Mahomet as given below to the Disaffected, viz. that the bier was light, *because supported by a crowd of Angels.*

* This is the passage to which I have alluded in a previous note, p. 282. The death of Sád followed so immediately on his sanguinary judgment, that the Disaffected could hardly avoid coupling the two together. To avert this inference, it is pretended in tradition that Sád prayed thus,—"O Lord! If thou hast in store any further fighting with the Coreish, then preserve me to take part in it: but if thou hast put an end to their warring against thy Prophet, then take me unto Thyself!"—which when he prayed, he was to all appearance well, the wound presenting only a slight cicatrised ring. But shortly after he was carried to the tent, and died.

Although, in fact, it may be said with truth that there was hardly any more fighting with the Coreish after this date, yet the prayer is evidently an after-thought. So far as the author of the Coran is concerned (and the Moslems refer the authorship to the

The long procession, with Mahomet at the head, wended its way slowly to Backî al Gharcad, the burial-ground of the Mussulmans. When they reached the spot, four men descended into the grave, and lowered the body into its place. At this moment the colour of Mahomet changed, and his countenance betrayed strong emotion. But he immediately recovered himself, and gave praise to God. Then he three times uttered the *Takbîr*, "Great is the Lord!" and the whole concourse, which filled the burial-ground to overflowing, took up the words, until the place re-echoed with the shout. Some of the people asked him concerning his change of colour, and he explained it to them thus: "At that moment the grave had become strait for your comrade, and the sides thereof closed in upon him. Verily, if any one could have escaped the straitening of the tomb it had been Sád. Then the Lord gave him expansion therein." The mother of Sád drew near, desiring to look into the grave, and they forbade her. But Mahomet said, "Suffer her to look." So shé looked in, before the body was covered over. As she gazed on the remains of her son, she said, "I commit thee unto the Lord;" and Mahomet comforted her. Then he went aside and sat down near the grave, while they built it over with bricks, and filled in the earth.

Deity) it was at the time quite uncertain whether Medina might not again be besieged by the Coreish, in proof of which see *Sura* xxxiii. 20.

When the whole was levelled, and the tomb sprinkled with water, the prophet again drew near, and standing over the grave, prayed once more for the departed chief. Then he turned, and retired to his home.

SUPPLEMENT TO VOLUME THIRD.

The Portions of the Coran revealed during the first Five Years of Mahomet's Residence at Medîna.

Retrospect of the character of the portions of the Coran revealed at Medîna.

We have now reached a stage at which it may be useful to pause and review the character of the Revelations given forth by Mahomet as divine, during the first five years of his sojourn at Medîna, and to consider the points in which they illustrate his life and the principles of Islam.

Mahomet, on his first arrival at Medîna, endeavours to stir up the Jews to gratitude, and to persuade them to bear evidence in his favour.

The people most prominently addressed in the early Medîna Suras are the Jews. Like the closing Suras at Mecca, these portions of the Coran abound in Jewish fable and legend, based upon the Old Testament and upon Rabbinical tradition. The marvellous interpositions of the Almighty in behalf of his people of old are recounted with the avowed view of stirring up the Jews of Medîna to gratitude, and of inciting them to publish unreservedly the evidence which (Mahomet still continued to assert) their Scriptures contained in substantiation of his claims. They were appealed to in the following style:—

Ye Children of Israel! Remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and how that I have preferred you above all the world. And fear the day whereon no soul shall at all make satisfaction for another soul; nor shall intercession be accepted therefrom; neither shall compensation be received from it,—and they shall not be helped.* . . . .

O Children of Israel! Remember the favour wherewith I have favoured you. And fulfil my Covenant; so will I fulfil your Covenant. And let Me be your dread. And believe in that which I reveal attesting the (Revelation) which is with you; and be not the first unbelievers therein; and sell not my signs for a small price: and let Me be your fear. And clothe not the Truth with Falsehood; neither conceal the Truth while ye know it.

Set ye up prayer, and give alms; and bow ye down with them that bow themselves down.

What! will ye command men to do justice, and forget your own selves, while yet ye read the Scripture? † What! do ye not understand? ‡

---

* S. ii. 47. These words are repeated again, with hardly any variation, in v. 123.

† *i.e.* The Old Testament. ‡ S. ii. 40.

On their refusal to acknowledge him, Mahomet changes the style of his address to rebuke and reproach.

But, excepting a few, the Jews refused to acknowledge the new Prophet. He had none of the signs of the Messiah, who was to come of the seed of Jacob and David, and not from amongst a strange people the progeny of Ishmael. They did not object to enter into a treaty with Mahomet of amity and good neighbourhood, but they scorned to bow to his spiritual pretensions. Their refusal was set down to envy and malice. The Jews (thus argued Mahomet) could not brook that the prophetic dignity should pass from themselves to another people; they well knew the prophecies regarding Islam; but they stifled their convictions, suppressed the plain declarations of their Scriptures, and perverted their meaning by "dislocating" the context, or by producing false glosses of the Rabbins. Their hearts were hardened; and every avenue to conviction closed. It was vain to seek for their conversion through the Coran, for they had already shown themselves proof against the Word of God as revealed in the Old Testament.* They were following in the steps of their stiff-necked forefathers who slew the prophets, departed from the worship of the true God, and sought out inventions of their own creation. As an example of such rebukes, take the following passage:—

And verily WE gave Moses the Scriptures, and WE made Apostles to follow after him, and WE gave JESUS son of Mary evident miracles, and WE strengthened him with the Holy Spirit.

Wherefore is it that so often as an Apostle cometh unto you with that which ye desire not, ye are puffed up; and some ye reject as Liars, and some ye put to death.

They say, *Our hearts are uncircumcised*; yea, the Lord hath cursed them for their Unbelief: Wherefore few there are that believe.

And when a Book † cometh unto them from God, attesting that (Scripture) which is with them,—and truly they had aforetime been praying for assistance against the Unbelievers,‡—yet when there came unto them that which they recognized,§ they disbelieved the same. Wherefore the curse of God is on the Unbelievers.

Evil is that for which they have sold themselves, to reject what God hath revealed, out of rebellion against God for sending down a portion of his

---

* S. ii. 75. † *i.e.* The Coran.

‡ *i.e.*, when oppressed by the idolaters of Medîna, &c., the Jews used to long and pray for the coming of the Messiah, who would vanquish their enemies for them. Vol. ii. 211.

§ *i.e.*, Mahomet and the Coran.

Favour upon such of his servants as he pleaseth.* Wherefore they have incurred wrath upon wrath; and for the Unbelievers there is prepared an ignominious Punishment.

And when it is said unto them, *Believe in that which is sent down*, they say, *We believe in that which God hath sent down to us*; and they disbelieve in that which came after it, although it be the Truth attesting that (Scripture) which is with them. Say,—Why, therefore, have ye killed the Prophets of God aforetime, if ye are Believers?

And verily Moses came with evident Signs; then ye took the Calf thereupon, and became transgressors, &c.†

The Jews thus stirred up to hatred of Mahomet.

This denunciation of the Jews, their malice, unbelief, and perversion of the truth, naturally aroused their hatred. They no longer put any faith in the trite asseveration of the Prophet that he was come to attest their scripture, and re-establish the divine doctrines it contained. The hope, once fondly cherished, that through the influence of their holy oracles which he thus professed to revere and follow, Mahomet would be guided towards the Truth, was now seen to be utterly fallacious. Their political inferiority, indeed, compelled them to cloke their hatred; but their real feelings transpired in various ways, and among others in expressions of double meaning, which greatly displeased and affronted Mahomet:—

Of the Jews there are that pervert words from their places, saying, *We have heard and disobeyed*, and *Hear without hearing*, and (RAINA) *Look upon us*,‡ twisting their tongues and reviling the Faith. But if they had said, *We have heard and obeyed*, and *Hearken*, and (ANTZORNA) *Look upon us*, it had been better for them; but God hath cursed them for their Unbelief; wherefore they shall not believe, excepting a few.

O ye to whom the Scripture hath been given, believe in what WE have sent down, attesting that (Revelation) which is with you,—before WE deface your countenances, turning the front backwards; or curse them as WE cursed those that broke the Sabbath.§

And two or three years later:—

O ye that believe! Take not as your friends those who make a laughing-

---

* *i.e.*, envious at the gift of prophecy being shared by the Arab nation.

† S. ii. 87.

‡ The words used were terms of reproach and contempt in Hebrew, but were pronounced so as to appear innocent expressions in Arabic. They were addressed to Mahomet, or used in public in reference to him, so as to turn him into ridicule among themselves.

§ S. iv. 44.

stock and a sport of your Religion, from amongst the people of the previous Scripture and the Infidels: and fear God, if ye be Believers.

Say,—Ye people of the Scripture! * Do ye keep aloof from us otherwise than because we believe in God, and in that which hath been sent down to us, and in that which hath been sent down before, and because the greater part of you are evil?

Say,—Shall I announce unto you what is worse than that, as to the Reward which is with God? He whom God hath cursed, and against whom he is wroth, and hath made of them Monkeys and Swine,† these and the Worshippers of Idols, are in an evil case. . . . . Thou shalt see multitudes of them running greedily after wickedness and injustice, and eating what is forbidden. Alas for that which they work!

Wherefore do their Rabbins and their Priests restrain them not from uttering Wickedness, and eating that which is forbidden? Alas for that which they commit!

The Jews say, *The hand of God is tied up.* Their own hands are tied up, and they are cursed for what they say. Nay, but His hands are both stretched out. He bestoweth as he pleaseth. That which hath been revealed to thee from thy Lord, shall increase rebellion and impiety in many of them. We have cast amongst them enmity and hatred, until the Day of Judgment. So often as they shall kindle the fire of War, God shall extinguish the same; and they shall set themselves to do wickedness in the Earth. And God loveth not the wicked doers.‡

They are accused of encouraging idolatry at Mecca.

In one passage the Jews are even accused of encouraging the Coreish to continue in idolatry, by representing that it was preferable to the doctrine of Mahomet:—

Hast thou not seen those to whom a portion of the Scripture hath been given? They believe in false gods and idols. They say to the unbelievers,—These are better directed in the right way than those that believe.§

These are they whom God hath cursed; and for him that God curseth, thou shalt find no helper.

Shall *they*, indeed, have any portion in the Kingdom, since, if they had, they would not part unto men with the least iota thereof? Do they envy men that which God hath given them of his bounty? And verily We gave unto

---

* *i.e.*, Jews.

† Alluding to the legendary punishment inflicted on the Israelites who broke the Sabbath day.

‡ S. v. 66.

§ The commentators refer this passage to Huwey and Kab, Jewish chiefs, and their advice to the Coreish rather to hold on by their ancestral faith than join Mahomet. See also further on, v. 58, where the Jews are impugned for "going to judgment before Tâghut," or idols. See Sale's notes on both passages; they are taken from the commentators, who delight in treasuring up all sorts of false and absurd stories against the Jews.

the house of Abraham the Scripture, and Wisdom; and WE gave them a great Kingdom. And there is of them that believeth in him;* and there is that turneth aside from him. But the raging fire of hell will suffice for such.

Verily, they that reject our Signs, WE will surely cast them into the Fire. So often as their skins are burned, we will change for them other skins, that they may fully taste the torment. For God is mighty and wise.

They that believe and do good works, WE shall introduce them into Gardens with rivers running beneath them; they shall abide therein for ever. And there shall they have pure Wives: and WE shall lead them into grateful shades.†

The removal o the Jews from the scene

Eventually, as we have seen, Mahomet did not confine his communications with the Jewish tribes of Medîna to mere rebuke and threats of the Divine wrath. He himself inflicted condign punishment upon them, till by exile and slaughter they were all removed from the scene. Such was the spirit of Islam. Judaism would not yield to its pretensions. And Mahomet, notwithstanding his liberal professions of respect for other creeds,‡ the still reiterated assurance that "he was only a public preacher,"§ and his express guarantee that "there should be no constraint in Religion,"‖ could not brook the profession of tenets opposed to his claims. The first step had now been taken for sweeping away from the Peninsula every creed but that of the Coran.

is followed by the discontinuance in the Coran of Jewish legends and reference to the Jewish Scriptures.

The disappearance of the Jews is followed by a corresponding change in the material of the Coran. The Revelations of Mahomet formed in no respect an abstract and systematic compilation. The Coran is purely concrete in its origin and progress. It grew up and formed itself, with all the peculiarities of the religious system and social code of Islam, out of the circumstances and feelings of the day. Hence, the necessity for referring to Jewish Scripture and history having passed away with the disappearance of the Jews themselves, we have no longer in the succeeding Suras those frequent allusions to the Old Testament and that constant repetition of biblical stories and Rabbinical legends, which are so prominent a feature in the middle stage of the Coran. The few notices which hereafter occur bear as

* Ordinarily construed to mean Mahomet, though the connection is not clear.

† S. iv. 49-53.

‡ S. ii. 62.

§ S. iii. 20; v. 101; xxiv. 55.

‖ S. ii. 257; iv. 79.

But the Scriptures are still referred to with reverence.

much upon the Christian, as upon the Jewish, sacred record. Both are still spoken of, though with extreme infrequency, yet with veneration and respect. And, as stated in the preceding volume, there is nowhere to be found throughout the Coran any imputation against the authority or genuineness of either.* But they pass practically into oblivion. The occasion for their mention had died away.

---

* Vol. ii. p. 297. In proof of this position I must refer to the little work there quoted, *The Testimony borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures* (*Agra*, 1856; *Allahabad*, 1860), where all the passages in the Coran bearing on the subject have been printed *in extenso*. I will briefly indicate here the texts on which the Mahometans chiefly rely for their charges against the genuineness of our Bible.

I pass over the passages in which the Jews are accused of "hiding the Signs of God," or "selling them for a small price;" for the meaning is evidently that the Jews merely refused to bring forward those texts which Mahomet believed to contain evidence in his favour. The renegade Jews applied the prophecies of the Messiah to Mahomet; the staunch Jews denied such application; and herein lay the whole dispute. There is no imputation or hint that any passages were *removed* from the sacred Record. The Jews "concealed the testimony of God," simply because they declined to bring it forward. The expression, "to sell a thing for a small price" is metaphorical, and signifies abandoning a duty for a worldly and sordid motive; it is used also of the disaffected citizens of Medîna. [It might far more truly have been applied to the renegade Jews who purchased their safety and prosperity by pandering their evidence to Mahomet's ambition.]

The passages in which "dislocation" or "perversion" is imputed are these: Sura, ii. 75; v. 14; v. 47; iv. 43. The latter verse has been quoted above, p. 291, and it well illustrates the meaning of *tahrîf*, ordinarily but incorrectly translated *interpolation*; it signifies the *perversion* of a word or passage, by using it in a double or erroneous sense, or with a wrong contextual reference. The words *Râina*, &c., in the verse quoted, are examples given by Mahomet himself. So with the passages of their Scriptures which the Jews wrested from their proper signification; as expressed in S. ii. 75, "they perverted them, *after they understood them.*"

Next comes S. iii. 77. They "twist their tongues in (reading) the Book, that ye may think it is out of the Book, though it is not out of the Book; and they say it is from God, and it is not from God." *Twisting their tongues*, is the same expression as in the verse above quoted, S. iv. 43. They read out passages which they *pretended* were from the Book, but were not (so Mahomet alleged); it was a deception of their tongues, not any corruption of their MSS.

So also S. ii. 78. "And amongst them are ignorant persons, who know not the Book, but only foolish stories; these follow nought but their own

The Coran becomes the depository of rules and comments in all departments of the theocratic government.

I have already drawn attention to the Coran as a medium for the publication of "general orders" on victory or defeat, in rebuke of backwardness or cowardice, in applause of constancy and courage. But it was not merely in respect of military affairs, as the reader will have observed, that the Coran contains comments and commands. Scattered throughout its Suras, we have, to some extent, the archives of a theocratic government in all its departments. The conduct of the "disaffected," the treatment of allies, the formation of treaties, the acceptance of terms, and other political matters, not unfrequently found a place among the divine messages. Liberality in contributing towards the expenses of war,—the only object requiring a public purse, is continually inculcated. The elements of a code both criminal and civil are also introduced. Punishments for certain offences are specified, and a mass of legislation laid down for the tutelage of orphans, for marriage, divorce, sales, bargains, wills, evidence,

---

imaginations: Wherefore woe unto those that write the Book with their hands; then they say, *This is from God;* that they may sell it for a small advantage. Woe unto them for that which their hands have written, and woe unto them for that which they gain." Here reference is evidently made to the ignorant Jews who copied out legends, traditions, or glosses, from rabbinical books, and brought them forward as possessed of divine authority. Even if a more serious meaning were admitted, viz., that some unscrupulous Jews copied out passages from the writings of their rabbins, &c., and brought them forward, pretending they were actual extracts from Scripture, the charge would indeed be one of fraud, but not by any means of corrupting the MSS. of the Old Testament.

These are, I believe, the main passages alleged to contain evidence of corruption or interpolation; and even if they were capable of a more serious construction, which I believe them not to be, they must be construed in accordance with the general tenor of the Coran, and the very numerous passages, contemporary and subsequent, in which "the Book," as current in the neighbourhood and elsewhere, is spoken of as a genuine and authoritative record, as containing the rule of faith and practice to be followed by Jews and Christians respectively, and as a divine record, belief in which is earnestly enjoined on the Moslems also. Assuredly such would not have been the language of Mahomet had he regarded either the Jewish or the Christian Scriptures as in any degree interpolated.

The similitude of an ass laden with books, employed by Mahomet to describe the Jews in reference to their Scriptures (S. lxii. 5), exactly illustrates the point of his charge against them: they had indeed a precious charge in their possession, but they were ignorant of its value and use.

usury, and other similar concerns. Further, there are copious instructions for the guidance of the Believer in his private life; and special provisions, some of which I have quoted at length, regulating the intercourse of Mahomet with his subjects, and with his own family. These all partake of the essential character of the Coran, that is to say, they are given forth as *divine* ordinances; and the sentences ordinarily end with some such trite expression as — "God is knowing and wise;" "God is forgiving and merciful;" "Evil is the fate of the Transgressors," &c., to complete the rhythm, and to invest the record with an inspired and oracular character. Throughout this, which may be styled the *administrative*, portion of the Coran are interspersed religious teaching of a similar nature to that in former Suras, the inculcation of piety and virtue, dissuasion from infidelity and vice, and directions for the performance of social duties and religious ceremonies. In the exhortations and denunciations, the main change is that the Jews, at first, and subsequently the "disaffected," usurp almost entirely the place heretofore occupied by the Idolaters of Mecca.

Though simple in his habits, Mahomet assumed the real power and dignity of a prince.

The advancing power and dignity of Mahomet may be traced in the reverence and submission exacted by command of the Coran from all his followers. A kingly court was not in accordance with the customs of the people, or with the tastes and habits of Mahomet himself. The simple and artless life of an Arab Chief was not departed from at Medîna; and it is this, which in vivid contrast with the state and luxury of the Caliphs his successors, induced tradition to cast around the Prophet's life an air of hardship and privation.* The delusion is mani-

* See note, Canon II. B. Vol. i. p. lx. The following traditions will illustrate the text:—Mahomet on a certain occasion having hurt his hand, his attendants carried him into his house, and placed him on a bed plaited with ropes of palm-fibre, and put under his head a pillow of leather stuffed with the same material. Omar, seeing the marks of the corded bedding on his side, wept aloud. On Mahomet asking why he wept, he replied, "Verily, I called to mind how the Chosroes and the Caysar sit upon thrones of gold, and wear garments of silk and brocade; and thou art in this sad condition!" "What, Omar!" said the Prophet, "art thou not content that *thou* shouldst have the portion of Futurity, and *they* the portion of this Life?" Now there were hung up on the wall bags of untanned leather, which filled the chamber with an unpalatable odour, and Omar said, "If thou wilt. I will

fest; for Mahomet and his Companions enjoyed all that the resources of the land and the plunder of their enemies could yield; and if they maintained plain and frugal habits, it was not in consequence of want, but because magnificence and pomp were foreign and distasteful to the national mind. A row of modest houses, built of rude stone, covered in with rough palm-branches, the inner walls hung about with bags of ill-tanned leather for domestic use, formed an habitation for the

---

put these outside." "Nay," said Mahomet, "do not so, for they are the utensils of life"—*i. e.* necessary for domestic purposes.—*K. W.* 90½.

On another occasion, Mahomet having risen from sleep with the marks of the matting on his side, Abdallah, his attendant, rubbed the place, and said, "Let me, I pray thee, spread a soft covering for thee over this mat." "Not so," replied Mahomet. "What have I to do with the comforts of this life? The world and I, what connection is there between us? Verily, the world is no otherwise than as a tree unto me; when the traveller hath rested under its shade, he passeth on."—*Ibid.*

A woman of Medîna, once entering Mahomet's apartment, saw his bedding to be only a piece of cloth doubled up. So she went home, and sent him a mattress stuffed with wool. But Mahomet gave Ayesha (who seemed inclined to keep it) no peace till she had returned it; telling her that, "he had no need of such luxuries, for that, if the Lord pleased, He would give him mountains of gold and silver."—*Ibid.*

Notwithstanding incidents like these, exaggerated by strong contrast with the subsequent luxury of the Moslems, it is evident that Mahomet had everything in abundance which he really desired, and which wealth or authority could procure. He sometimes gave a large price for his clothes: once he exchanged nineteen (others say seventeen) camels for a single dress, and he bought a mantle for eight dinars.—*Ibid.* 89½.

I have mentioned in the text the articles of toilet which he carried with him in his campaigns. He had a collyrium-box, from which at bedtime he used to apply antimony to his eyelids, saying that it made the sight more piercing, and caused the hair to grow. The Governor of Egypt sent him a crystal goblet; and either this, or another jug from which he drank, was set in silver. He had also a copper vase, which he used in bathing.—*Ibid.* 94.

He was very fond of perfumes, and indulged, as Ayesha tells us, in "men's scents," *i.e.* in musk and ambergris; he used also to burn camphor on odoriferous wood, and enjoy the fragrant smell. Anis, his servant (who had charge of his shoes and water-pot, p. 93), says, "We used always to know when Mahomet had issued forth from his chamber by the odoriferous perfume that filled the air."—P. 76½. He never refused perfumes, from whatever hand, when offered as a present.—*Ibid.*

Such were the chief, perhaps the only, luxuries which Mahomet, from his previous habits, was able to appreciate.

Prophet and his wives far more desirable than the most splendid seraglio "ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion." A mattress of date-fibre covered with leather was a luxury to the Arab incomparably greater than a stately "bed of the wood of Lebanon, decked with tapestry." The trappings of a royal camp would have ill comported with the grave simplicity of Mahomet, while a narrow tent of leather afforded him ample accommodation; and his bag, containing an ivory comb, a tooth-pick, oil for his hair, and antimony for his eyes, supplied all the comforts within the compass of an Arab's imagination. The luxurious and pampered courtiers of Baghdad and Damascus wondered at the tales of their Prophet having mended his own sandals, and of their first Caliph having tended his own flock of goats, not reflecting that a more artificial state would have been at variance with everything around, and that the habits of three-score years had become a second life.

Honour and reverence paid to Mahomet; his prerogatives.

Nevertheless, in whatever constitutes real dignity and power,—that which satisfies the cravings of pride and ambition,—Mahomet was not behind the most absolute Dictator, or the most pompous Sovereign. His word was absolute; to him every difference or dispute must be referred.* On his appearance the assembly rose, and gave place to the Prophet and his chief Companions; the people were required to approach him reverently, to speak softly in his presence, and not to crowd around, or throng him.† They were not to visit his house unasked; and even when invited they must not linger long, or indulge familiarly in discourse with him.‡ If an interview were desired, it was prescribed that alms should previously, as a mark of reverence, be dispensed; but this rule, found too irksome, was withdrawn.§ "The calling of the Apostle was not to be esteemed as the calling of one believer to the other;" it was to be implicitly and promptly obeyed. Those in attendance upon him were not to leave without permission first received.‖ His wives were withdrawn from the

---

* S. iv. 57, 63, 67, 79; xlvii. 26; xxiv. 64.
† S. lviii. 11; xlix. 2.
‡ S. xxxiii. 50, quoted before.
§ S. lviii. 12.
‖ S. xxiv. 63, 64. Hishâmi refers this passage to the attendance required at the digging of the Ditch; but it evidently has a more general bearing. See Sale *in loco*.

vulgar gaze; none might communicate directly or familiarly with them, excepting their near relatives and domestic servants.* The Prophet was the favourite of Heaven; the true Believer but followed the example of God and of the heavenly hosts, when he invoked blessings upon Mahomet:—

> Verily, God and his angels invoke blessings upon the Prophet. O ye that believe! do ye also invoke blessings upon him, and salute him with a (reverential) salutation.
>
> Verily, they that trouble God and his Apostle, God hath cursed them in this world, and in that which is to come: He hath prepared for them an ignominious punishment.†

The conceit that he is the favourite of heaven, a key to the special prerogatives claimed by him in the Coran.

The vain conceit, that he was *the Favourite of Heaven*, once admitted into the heart of Mahomet (and cherished there, as the Christian may surmise, by some special Satanic suggestion), will, I think, be found the key to those strange Revelations which secured for the Prophet peculiar privileges, especially in his conjugal relations. In the self-complacency of these fatal and impious pretensions, he brought himself to believe that no immunity or indulgence would be withheld from him; but that every wish and desire of his heart would be gratified, and that even by the direct interposition of the Almighty!

But no supernatural character asserted.

Still, no supernatural character was claimed by Mahomet. He did not differ in the nature of his office (though he might in degree and dignity) from the former Prophets. Like other men he was mortal;‡ and equally with them needed to pray to God for the pardon of his sins. §

Irreverential manner in which the weekly service was at first observed.

I have in a previous chapter observed that Mahomet did not contemplate the consecration of any day, like the Sabbath, to spiritual Worship. On Friday, appointed for general public

---

* S. xxxiii. 50.

† S. xxxiii. 53.; see also S. lviii. 8. "They salute thee with the salutation wherewith God doth not salute thee."

‡ S. iii. 144.

§ S. xlvii. 20; xlviii. 2. In an earlier Meccan passage the doctrine of universal guilt is very plainly stated in these words:—That if God were to visit sin according to its desert, no living thing would be left upon the earth.—S. xxxv. 46. But notwithstanding casual expressions of this nature, it is evident enough that Mahomet knew little of the "exceeding sinfulness" of sin, as made known in the Bible.

prayer, business and merchandise might be transacted as much as on any other day. The weekly service, indeed, appears at first to have been treated with little respect. On a certain Friday, while Mahomet discoursed from the Pulpit to a crowded assembly in the Mosque, the sound of drums announced the arrival of a Syrian Caravan, upon which the greater part of his audience hurried forth to meet it, and left Mahomet standing in the Pulpit nearly alone:*—

O ye that believe! When the call to Prayer is raised on the day of Assembly,† then hasten to the commemoration of God, and leave off trafficking—that will be better for you, if ye knew it.

And when the Prayers are ended, then disperse over the land, and seek (gain) from the favour of God, and make frequent mention of God, that ye may prosper.

When they see Merchandising or Sport, they break away, flocking thereto, and leave thee standing; say, That which is with God is better than Sport or Merchandise; and God is the best Supporter." ‡

Drunkenness common,

In another passage we find Mahomet forbidding his followers to be present at prayer in a state of drunkenness:—"O ye that believe! draw not nigh unto prayers, while ye are drunken, until ye can understand that which ye say." This injunction, being connected with another of a general nature,§ may be viewed as additional evidence of the lax manner in which the devotions of the Moslems were at first performed, as well as of the prevalence of intemperance. In a previous passage the use of Wine had been discouraged, though not prohibited, on the ground that it was productive of greater injury than good:—

They will ask thee concerning Wine, and Casting lots.‖ SAY,—In both there is great evil, and (also) advantages, to Mankind; but the evil of them is greater than the advantages of them.¶

---

* Such is the account given by the commentators, who are not, however, very particular about evidence or probability. But the passage in the Coran, as quoted in the text, implies some sort of occurrence of the kind.

† *Al Jumá*, the Assembly, or Friday.

‡ S. lxii. 9 to end.

§ Viz., against being present at Prayers in a state of legal impurity. S. iv. 42.

‖ Lit., Lots, Dice, or Games of chance.

¶ S. ii. 219. See also in a late Meccan Sura, xvi. 67; speaking of God's goodness in the provision of pleasant and nutritious food, Mahomet says:—

till wine was forbidden.

But Mahomet at last perceived that the sanctions of his Religion were too weak to enforce a middle course, and that the imposition of entire abstinence was the only means by which he could check intemperance. The command against the use of wine was issued in the Fourth year of the Hegira, during the siege (it is said) of the Bani Nadhîr;—

O ye that believe! Verily Wine, and the Casting of lots, and Images, and Divining-arrows, are an abomination from amongst the works of Satan: Shun them, therefore, that ye may prosper.

Verily, Satan seeketh that he may cast amongst you enmity and hatred through Wine and Games of chance, and hinder you from the remembrance of God and from Prayer. Will ye not, then, refrain? Obey God, and obey the Apostle; and beware! For if ye turn back,—Verily, our Apostle's duty is but to deliver his Message publicly.*

Influence of Judaism still maintained in moulding the institutions of Mahomet.

The influence of the Jewish law and ritual may still be traced in moulding the institutions of Mahomet. Usury is absolutely forbidden. The criminal code follows largely the Law of retaliation. Ceremonial purification before prayer is strictly enjoined, and in the absence of water sand must be used as a substitute.† An oath something resembling the curse of jealousy is permitted to a wife suspected by her husband of infidelity.‡ And gene-

"And of the fruits of the Palm-tree, and Grapes, ye obtain Wine (lit., *an inebriating drink*) and good nourishment. Verily, therein is a Sign unto People that understand." Some hold from this that the moderate use of Wine is not prohibited. See Sale, *in loco.*

* S. v. 99. Weil supposes that the first passage, reprehending men for going to public prayer intoxicated, may have been revealed subsequently to this second passage, as the former is in connection with the command for the use of sand in purification, which was promulgated during the expedition against the Bani Mustalick. The verse concerning sand, however, is quite separate from that about Drunkenness; though placed in juxta-position, they may have been revealed on entirely different occasions; and after the *positive* command here given against the use of Wine, Mahomet would not have noticed its contravention so lightly as he does in Sura iv. 42. Little can be deduced from the Medîna *Suras* in the way of context, especially in passages containing precepts, which are evidently thrown together *by subjects*, with little reference, in general, to chronology.

† Sand is allowed as a substitute by the Jews; also by the Magi. Sale, *Prel. Disc.* p. 125. The practice is called Tayammum; see the preceding note for occasion of its institution, A. H. V.

‡ S. xxiv. 4; *Numbers*, v. 11. There is no provision for any Judicial *test*, such as the bitter water of Jealousy; but the imprecation of God's curse on the swearer, if a liar (S. xxiv. 109) has some analogy to the oath mentioned in *Numbers* v. 24.

rally in the relations established between the Sexes, a considerable degree of similarity may be traced to the injunctions of the Pentateuch.*

Coarseness of his instructions regarding marriage and divorce.

As in all other matters, so in those referring to Marriage and Divorce, instead of laying down general principles, and leaving their application to each man's conscience and sense of propriety, Mahomet ventured upon particular and detailed instructions. Apart altogether from the correctness of these precepts, the coarse language in which they are expressed, and the indelicacy of the ideas conveyed, are a serious reproach to the Coran. Making every reasonable allowance for the rudeness of speech and sentiment current in Arabia,† much remains that must be set down to the pruriency of Mahomet's own mind,—much that is offensive to purity of thought, and which has no doubt freely contributed toward the laxity of morals in the Mahometan world.

Corruption engendered thereby in Moslem literature.

Further than this, the legislation of the Coran on these subjects has given birth to endless volumes, by Jurists and Theologians, of interpretation, illustration, construction, corollary, supplement,—a mass of corruption poisoning the mind and morals of every Mahometan student. Ingenuity and labour have been expended lavishly in describing and solving cases the very mention of which is repugnant to modesty, in drawing elaborate distinctions and demonstrating points of casuistry in a domain of thought which cannot even be approached without moral injury and contamination. The Arabic language, as moulded by the system which grew out of the precepts of Islam, is itself evidence of this defilement.‡ For these evils the Coran is responsible; and if there were no other indictment against

---

* It will suffice to refer to Sale's *Prel. Disc.* pp. 157-160. From S. iv. 25 it would seem that Mahomet considered his rules regarding Marriage, &c. to be "in accordance with the ordinances of those who have gone before;" *i.e.* of the previous Prophets. Reverence for the Pentateuch, and the necessity of justifying what is there forbidden, no doubt dictated the excuse (Sura lix. 5) for cutting down the palm-trees of the B. Nadhîr. See Deut. xx. 19, which I had overlooked when writing p. 213 of this volume.

† See Canon III. c., vol. i. p. lxxxi.

‡ This will be painfully evident from the most cursory glance into any Arabic dictionary. The fault is *not inherent in the language*, but in the

its author, that alone would go far towards a verdict of condemnation.

Female slavery perpetuated.

I have, in a previous chapter, adverted to the laxity of morals and corruption of manners encouraged by the licence of Polygamy and Divorce. There is no limit, as supposed by Sale,* to the number of slave-girls, with whom (irrespective of his four wives) a Moslem may, without any antecedent ceremony or any guarantee of continuance, cohabit. Female slavery, being a condition necessary to the legality of this illimitable indulgence, will never be put down, with a willing or hearty co-operation, by any Mussulman community.

Unmarried women, how affected by his system.

It has often been asserted that the institutions of Mahomet have tended to elevate and improve the state of Woman. Yet, excepting in so far as she necessarily shared in the general elevation and improvement introduced by a purer religion, and more spiritual worship,† it is to me very doubtful whether, in married life, her position was not rendered by Islam more dependent and degrading than before. I do not speak of unmarried and widowed females; for, if we put aside the depressing influence which the constraint and thraldom of the married state has exercised upon *the sex at large*, the unmarried free woman has nothing to complain of. And, in one particular, viz., the inheritance by the son of his father's wives, she was delivered by Mahomet from a gross and intolerable abuse.‡ No free woman can be forced, under the code of Islam, to marry against her will; and so long as she remains single, she is the mistress of her own actions.

---

uses to which it has been turned by a licentious people, driven by the Coran to distinguish in repulsive detail what is licit from that which is illicit.

The improprieties of native Lexicons have been most gratuitously perpetuated in our European Dictionaries of the Arabic language. Why should this be so? A sweeping reform is here loudly called for by Christian morality. We need none of these indelicacies; the vast mass are absolutely gratuitous; and whatever is indispensable can surely be veiled in decorous language.

* *Prel. Discourse*, p. 156; see also his note on S. lxvi. v. 1.

† The notion that the female sex is overlooked in the rewards of the future life arose, apparently, from the incapability of providing them with enjoyments similar to those promised to the other sex. Not only is the idea of their exclusion from Paradise at variance with the whole tenor of the Coran, but it is contradicted by express passages. See S. iv. 123; xlviii. 5.

‡ See S. iv. 18; also vol. ii. p. 52.

Married women and female slaves occupy an inferior and debased position.

But in so far as the married state is concerned (which in the East embraces practically the whole sex during the greater part of their lives), the condition fixed by Mahomet for woman is that of a dependent inferior creature, destined only for the service of her lord, liable to be cast off without the assignment of any reason, and without the notice of a single hour. While the husband possesses thus the power of divorce, absolute, immediate, unquestioned, no privilege of a corresponding nature has been reserved for the Wife.* She hangs on, however unwilling, neglected, or superseded, the perpetual slave of her lord,—if such be his will. When actually divorced, she can, indeed, claim her dower,—her *hire*, as it is called, in the too plain language of the Coran;† but the knowledge that a wife can make this claim is at the best a miserable security against capricious taste; and in the case of female slaves, even that imperfect check is wanting. The power of divorce is not the only power that may be arbitrarily exercised by the tyrannical husband: authority to confine and to beat his wives is distinctly vested in his discretion: —"Men stand above Women, because of the superiority which God hath conferred on one of them over the other, and because of that which they expend of their wealth.‡ Wherefore let the good Women be obedient, preserving their purity in secret, in that wherein God preserveth them: But such as ye may fear disobedience§ from, rebuke them, and put them away in separate sleeping places, and chastise them.‖ But if they be obedient unto you, seek not against them an excuse (for severity);¶ verily God

* The Coran has not contemplated anywhere the contingency of divorce being claimed by the wife. The idea of any independent rights of the kind was entirely foreign to Mahomet's notions of the position of the sex. The Mahometan doctors have, indeed, determined that under a few rare contingencies divorce may be demanded; but they are so exceptional as hardly to deserve notice.

† اجورهن S. lxv. 26; iv. 23, *et al.*

‡ *i.e.*, in support of the women. The same superiority is asserted S. ii. 229.

§ Or, *Provocation.* نشوز

‖ Lit., Strike them: اضربوهن

¶ Lit., "Seek not against them a way."

is lofty and great."* The "exchanging of one wife for another," that is, the divorcing of one in order to marry another, is recognized in the Coran, with only this caution, that the dower stipulated at marriage be given in full to her that is put away.† Thus restrained, secluded, degraded, the mere minister of enjoyment, liable at the caprice or passion of the moment, to be turned adrift, it would be hard to say that the position of a wife was improved by the code of Mahomet. I do not hesitate to decide that she was possessed of more freedom, and exercised a greater, a healthier, and more legitimate influence, under the pre-existing institutions of Arabia.‡

The position of married women impaired by Islam.

As regards female slaves under the thraldom of Mahometan masters, it is difficult to conceive more signal degradation of the human species. They are treated as an inferior class of beings. Equally restricted as if they had entered the marriage state, they are expressly excluded from any title to conjugal rights.§ They are purely at the disposal of their proprietors. The only redeeming feature is that when once a slave has borne

Wretched condition of female slaves.

---

* S. iv. 33.

† "And if ye be desirous to exchange (*or* substitute) one wife in place of another wife, and ye have given one of them a talent, then take not away anything therefrom. What! will ye take it away falsely, and commit an open sin? And how can ye take it away, seeing that one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant." S. iv. 18. See also the same expression used in reference to Mahomet himself. S. xxxiii. 49.

‡ It would be a gratuitous dishonour to Christian marriage to compare it with marriage under the Coran. Excepting where (from custom, or casual incident, and in spite of the Coran and the example of Mahomet) a husband may confine himself *for life* to one wife, there can be no points common to the two institutions. The idea of conjugal *unity* is utterly unknown to Mahometans, excepting when the Christian example is by chance followed; and even there, the continuance of the bond is purely dependent on the will of the husband. The wives have a *separate interest*, not only each in regard to her sister-wives, but even in regard to her husband; so much so, that, on the death of a son, the father and mother receive separate shares from the inheritance. In this respect I believe the *morale* of Hindoo society, where polygamy is less encouraged, to be sounder, in a very marked degree, than that of Mahometan society.

§ The subject is not one which I can explain or illustrate farther without offence to morality. The reader must believe at second hand that the whole system is vile and revolting.

a child to her master, she cannot be sold, and at his death obtains her freedom.*

Divorce thrice repeated irrevocable. Revolting condition on which alone the original marriage can be reverted to.

In the rules regarding Divorce, there is one which (much as I might desire it) cannot be passed over in silence. A husband may twice divorce his wife, and each time receive her back again. But the formula of separation thrice repeated is irreversible. However unjust or injurious the action, how much soever the result of passion or of caprice, however it may affect the interests not only of an innocent wife, but also of her innocent children, however desirous the husband may be of undoing the wrong,—the decision cannot be recalled; the divorced wife can return to her husband but on one revolting condition, and that is that she shall first be married to another, and after cohabitation be divorced by him.† The tone of Mahometan manners may be imagined from the functions of the *temporary* husband hired to legalize re-marriage with a thrice-divorced wife, having passed into a proverb.‡ Such flagrant breach of

---

* This is not provided for in the Coran, but rests on the precedent of Mahomet, who freed his own slave-girl, Mary, on her bearing a son to him. Such a slave is called *Ommal Walad*, or "Mother of the child."

† S. ii. 231. "And if he (a third time) divorce her, she shall not be lawful unto him after that, until she shall have married a husband other than he; and if the latter divorce her, then there shall be no sin in the two that they again return to each other, if they think that they can observe the limits appointed by God. These are the ordinances of God, which he manifesteth to people that understand."

‡ الف عشق ولا مستحل "*A thousand lovers, rather than one Mostahil.* Many lovers or gallants cause less shame to a woman than one Mostahil. According to the Moslem law, a person who has (thrice) divorced his wife cannot remarry her until she has been married to some other man, who becomes her legitimate husband, cohabits with her for one night, and divorces her next morning; after which the first husband may again possess her as his wife. Such cases are of frequent occurrence—as men in the haste of anger often divorce their wives by the simple expression طلقتك which (thrice repeated) cannot be retracted. In order to regain his wife a man hires (at no inconsiderable rate) some peasant, whom he chooses from the ugliest that can be found in the streets. A temporary husband of this kind is called Mostahil, and is generally most disgusting to the wife," &c. Burckhardt's *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 21. Tradition and law books abound with fetid commentaries illustrative of this subject, and with checks against the intermediate marriage and cohabitation being merely nominal.

decency, such cruel violation of the modesty of an unoffending wife, may be an abuse the full extent of which was not at the time contemplated by Mahomet; but it is not the less an abuse for which, as a direct result of the unnatural and revolting provision framed by him, Mahomet is justly responsible.*

Warlike spirit of the Coran.

The fierce and warlike spirit of the Suras of this period has been perhaps sufficiently illustrated in the preceding chapters. I may here just refer to one passage which appears to me peculiarly demonstrative of the eager desire after plunder which Mahomet had stirred up, and which he soon found it difficult (so natural was it to the Arab) to restrain within expedient bounds. Only those, according to Mahomet's own principles, could be lawfully slain and plundered, who were *disbelievers* in his mission; but so insatiable had the thirst for spoil become, that cases now occurred of Moslems slaying persons, even after they had made profession of the Mahometan faith, on the pretext that they were insincere Believers. Stringent prohibition was required to guard against this abuse. Whoever trifled with the life of a

---

Some commentators hold the practice as described by Burckhardt to be illegal; whether legal or not, we may hope, for the interests of morality, that it is not so frequent as he represents it to be. But its existence is undoubted; and it has existed, in a more or less revolting form, ever since the verse which I have quoted was revealed. A case is mentioned by Tradition in which Mahomet himself insisted on the fulfilment of the condition of cohabitation with another husband, before the original union could be returned to, in language which I am willing to believe that prurient tradition has fabricated for him.

It must not be forgotten that all the immorality of speech and action connected with this shameful institution, and the outrage done to female virtue (not necessarily as a punishment for any fault of the wretched wife, but often from the passion and thoughtlessness of the husband himself), is chargeable solely and exclusively to the verse of the Coran quoted above. It is a sorry excuse that Mahomet wished thereby to check inconsiderate divorce: a good object is not to be sought for through such abominable means.

* The severe epithets in the text are justified by the Twenty-fourth chapter of Numbers, at the beginning of which the case above supposed is described exactly, and the following judgment given:—"Her former husband, which sent her away, may not take her again to be his wife after that she is defiled; *for that is an abomination before the* LORD; and thou shalt not cause the land to sin, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance."—Ver. 4.

Believer, did so at the peril of his soul. After prescribing the penalty or penance for killing a Moslem unintentionally, the ordinance proceeds:—

"But whosoever killeth a Believer wilfully, his reward shall be Hell,—for ever therein. God shall be wroth with him, and shall curse him: He hath prepared for him a great Punishment.

O ye that believe! When ye go forth (fighting) in the way of God, rightly discriminate, and say not to him that saluteth you,* *Thou art not a Believer*,—seeking the transitory things of this present Life,—whilst with God there is great spoil. And such were ye yourselves aforetime,† but God had Favour towards you. Wherefore carefully discriminate, for God is attentive to that which ye do. ‡

References to the Coreish and to idolatry.

Though Mecca with its Idolaters has now faded in the distance, and references to the Coreish are mainly connected with their hostile inroads alone, yet we still find occasionally passages, after the old Meccan style, in reprobation of Idolatry, and menace of the city "which had cast its Prophet out." § Polytheism and Idolatry are denounced as the only unpardonable sin. ‖ The tone of defiance becomes bolder and at times even exulting. Mahomet and his people are "to fight till opposition shall cease, and the Religion becometh God's alone." ¶ Until this glorious consummation is secured, "they are not to faint, neither invite to peace." ** A complete and speedy victory is promised. God is the stronger, and will prevail: Islam shall shortly be established triumphantly. ††

Waverers threatened;

Such as withdraw from Mecca, and rally around the standard of Mahomet, while the struggle is yet undecided, shall have a merit superior far to the merit of those who may join it after opposition shall have been beaten down. ‡‡ The Waverers who, though persuaded of the truth of the new Faith, cannot make up their minds to abandon Mecca, are told that their excuse of inability will not be accepted of God,—"their habitation shall be Hell,—an evil journey is it thither!" §§ But a word of comfort is added for

* *i.e.*, with the salutation peculiar to Islam,—which was held equivalent to professing oneself a Moslem.

† *i.e.*, ye were like those whom ye would now kill for their booty, at your first conversion, and before ye heartily engaged in the propagation of Islam.

‡ S. iv. 93. § S. xlvii. 14. ‖ S. iv. 46, 115.

¶ S. ii. 191, *et seq.*; viii. 39. ** S. xlvii. 35.

†† S. v. 60; iv. 83; lviii. 21; xxiv. 56. ‡‡ lvii. 10.

§§ S. iv. 96; see also v. 88;—where *Emigration* is made the test of faith.

those who though Believers were amongst "the Weak," and were withheld by real helplessness from leaving Mecca.* The rescue of such from their unhappy position is adduced as a powerful motive why their more fortunate brethren at Medîna should fight bravely in the cause:— but the "*weak*" believers of Mecca comforted.

Fight in the way of God, ye that sell the present Life for that which is to come. Whosoever fighteth in the way of God, whether he be slain or be victorious, WE shall surely give him a great Reward.

And what aileth you that ye fight not in the way of God, and for the Weak amongst the men and women and children, who say,—O Lord! Deliver us out of this City, whose people are Oppressors; and grant us from thyself a Protector, and grant us from thyself a Defender.†

From the numerous examples I have given (so numerous, I fear, as to have been irksome to the reader) it will be evident that the style of the Coran, though varying greatly in force and vigour, has for the most part lost altogether the marks of vivid imagination and poetic fire which characterize the earlier Suras. It becomes tame and ordinary both in thought and language. Occasionally, indeed, we still find traces of the former spirit. Here for instance is a description of the Deity which the followers of Mahomet are justly proud of:— The style of this period tame, but with occasional touches of poetic fire. Instance of the latter.

God! There is no God but he: the Living, the Eternal. Slumber doth not overtake him, neither Sleep. To him belongeth all that is in the Heavens and in the Earth. Who is he that shall intercede before him, excepting by his permission? He knoweth that which is before them, and that which is behind them,‡ and they shall not comprehend anything of his knowledge, saving in so far as he pleaseth. His throne stretcheth over Heaven and Earth, and the protection of them both is no burden unto him. He is the Lofty and the Great.§

In the following extract, the verses in which Infidelity is compared to a tempestuous Sea, of which the crested waves below mingle with the lowering clouds above,—a scene of impenetrable Darkness and Despair,—are to my apprehension amongst the grandest and most powerful in the whole Coran. The Sura belongs to the Fifth year of the Hegira; but part of it is in the best style of the Meccan period. Another example.

God is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth. The likeness of his

---

* S. iv. 96; see also v. 88.

† S. iv. 72, 73.

‡ *Lit.*, "That which is before their hands, and that which is behind their hands," *i.e.*, the past and the future.

§ S. ii. 256.

light is as the niche wherein is a Lamp (enclosed) in glass;—the glass is a refulgent Star. It is lighted from a blessed tree,—an Olive neither of the East nor of the West. Its Oil is near unto giving light, even if the fire did not touch it,—Light upon light. God directeth unto his light whom he pleaseth. . . .

[Here intervenes a description of the worship, and good works, of Believers.]

And those that disbelieve,—their works are as the *Serâb* in the plain; the thirsty man thinketh it to be water, until, when he cometh thereto, he doth not find it anything.—But he findeth God about him, and He will fulfil unto him his account. God is swift in taking account:—

—Or as the Darkness in a bottomless Sea:—Wave covereth it from above, wave upon wave. Above them are Clouds; darkness of one kind over another kind. When one stretcheth forth his hand, he hardly seeth it. And to whomsoever God doth not grant light, he shall have no light. *

What! seest thou not that unto God giveth praise everything that is in the Heavens and in the Earth, and the Birds in a well-ordered line,—truly every one knoweth his prayer and his hymn of praise; and God knoweth whatsoever ye do.

And to God belongeth the kingdom of the Heavens and of the earth; and unto God shall all return.

Seest thou not that God driveth the clouds along, then gathereth them together, then setteth them on heaps; and thou seest the Rain issuing forth from between them. And he sendeth down from the heavens (as it were) mountains wherein is hail; and he striketh therewith whom he pleaseth, and averteth the same from whom he pleaseth, The brightness of his Lightning well-nigh taketh the sight away.

God converteth the Night and the Day. Verily herein is a Monition unto those that are endowed with sight.

And God hath created every Beast out of water. Of them there is that goeth upon his belly; and of them there is that goeth upon two legs; and of them there is that goeth upon four. God createth that which he pleaseth. Verily God is over all things Powerful. †

---

* The words expressive of the thick darkness overspreading the sea, and the rolling of wave over wave, are in the original very grand and descriptive: the translation is of course far from giving any adequate conception of their vividness and life. They are as follows:—

او كظلمات فى بحر لجي يغشاه موج من فوقه موج فوقه سحاب ظلمات بعضها فوق بعض

Ka tzulmatin fi bahrin lujji'in yaghshâhu moujun min fouckihi moujun, min fouckihi sahâbun, tzulmatun bázuhâ foucka bázin,

† S. xxiv. 36-46.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF THE SURAS REVEALED AT MEDINA.

Account of the Medina *Suras*.

I PROPOSE here to complete, or rather to amend, the chronological enumeration, as given at the close of the Second Volume, of those Suras which were composed by Mahomet at Medîna.

Reason why they cannot be accurately arranged in chronological sequence.

Many of them are very long, some containing so many as from two to three hundred verses. Few relate to a single subject. Several of them traverse over many years. For, as before explained, the amanuenses of Mahomet, under his directions, ordinarily placed new verses, as they appeared, with previously formed Suras, or collections of passages, relating to the same topic. The subjects in all the longer Suras being various, and each having been in this manner gradually enlarged, the whole have assumed their present miscellaneous form. On the other hand, there are one or two which relate to a single scene or subject, as the Fifty-ninth to the siege and expulsion of the Bani Nadhîr, and the Sixty-third to the treasonable conduct of Abdallah and the "disaffected."

But the main periods and subjects indicated below.

It will be apparent from these remarks, that it is not possible to assign to the longer Suras any precise chronological place and order. But in the following statement, I will endeavour to explain to what main periods or subjects each Sura refers.

S. xcvii.

SURA XCVIII.; 8 *verses*.—A short Sura with nothing determinate to mark its chronology.

S. ii.

SURA II.; 287 *verses*.—In this Sura are collected the passages composed in the first two or three years of Mahomet's stay at Medîna. The greater part relates to the Jews, with biblical and rabbinical stories, notice of the change of the Kibla, &c. The disaffected citizens are also denounced in it. There is likewise much matter of a legislative character produced during the first Medîna stage, with additions and interpolations from the Revelations of later stages.

S. iii. SURA III.; 200 *verses.*—A portion was composed shortly after the battle of Badr, (A.H. 2,) which is described in it. Another and longer portion relates to the battle of Ohod, A.H. 3. The Second expedition to Badr, A.H. 4, is also spoken of. The Jews are largely referred to in a spirit of bitter hostility. And the interview with the Christian deputation from Najran described, which belongs to a much later period, A.H. 9. There are also some very late passages relating to the Farewell pilgrimage, A.H. 10, introduced in relation to others referring to the Meccan rites.

S. viii. SURA VIII.; 76 *verses.*—This was composed in part immediately after the battle of Badr, A.H. 2; and the greater portion appears to be of an equally early date. The Coreish are frequently referred to, and sometimes in the old Meccan style.

S. xlvii. SURA XLVII.; 38 *verses.*—Fighting strenuously inculcated; and the Infidels of Mecca threatened.

S. lxii. SURA LXII.; 11 *verses.*—The Jews reprobated for their ignorance; and greater regularity at prayers inculcated on Believers.

S. v. SURA V.; 120 *verses.*—A great part consists in denunciation of the Jews. The obnoxious doctrines of Christianity are also controverted. The opening portion, relating to the rites of Meccan pilgrimage, is of a later period. Part of it may possibly belong to the Sixth year of the Hegira, when Mahomet set out for Hodeibia. But a portion also appears to appertain to the last pilgrimage, A.H. 10,—as v. 4. "This day have I perfected your Religion for you," &c. There are also miscellaneous instructions and legislative provisions.

S. lix. SURA LIX.; 24 *verses.*—A.H. 4. Siege and expulsion of the Bani Nadhîr.

S. iv. SURA IV.; 175 *verses.*—Numerous injunctions on the treatment of women and the various relations of the sexes. A great part occupied with animadversions on the Jews. References to the Idolaters of Mecca. General instructions, social and political.

S. lviii. SURA LVIII.; 22 *verses.*—On Divorce and certain other social questions. The Disaffected are reprobated for favouring the Jews.

S. lxv. SURA LXV.; 13 *verses.*—On Divorce and other social matters.

S. xxiv. SURA XXIV.; 65 *verses.*—The vindication of Ayesha, after the expedition against the Bani Mustalick, A.H. 5. Miscellaneous injunctions, social and religious.

SURA LXIII.; 11 *verses.*—Belongs to the same period. Menaces against Abdallah ibn Obey and the Disaffected for their treasonable threats on the expedition against the B. Mustalick. S. lxiii.

SURA LVII.; 29 *verses.*—Strenuous exhortations to fight, and to obtain the merit of joining the cause of Mahomet before the final victory. S. lvii.

SURA LXI.; 14 *verses.*—Like the preceding; as v. 4, "Verily God loveth those that fight in his cause, drawn up in line as if they were a well-compacted building." Speedy victory is promised. S. lxi.

There remain only five Suras which belong exclusively to the five last years of Mahomet's life. They are—

SURA XLVIII.; 29 *verses.*—Refers to the Truce of Hodeibia, towards the close of A.H. 6. S. xlviii.

SURA LX.; 13 *verses.*—Subsequent to the above. It relates to the treatment of the women who during the Truce came over from Mecca. S. lx.

SURA LXVI.; 13 *verses.*—Mahomet's intrigue with his slave-girl Mary, the Copt—subsequent to the embassy to Egypt—probably A.H. 7 or 8. S. lxvi.

SURA XLIX.; 18 *verses.*—An unimportant Sura, relating partly to the Bedouin Arabs, whose profession of Islam was stigmatized as insincere. S. xlix.

SURA IX.; 131 *verses.*—The final Sura, declaring the antagonism of Islam to every other system, excluding all but Mussulmans from Mecca and the rites of pilgrimage, referring to the battle of Tabûk, &c. S. ix.

END OF VOL. III.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SMITH, ELDER AND CO.,
LITTLE GREEN ARBOUR COURT, OLD BAILEY, E C.

00141353

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016